



# TIME

'I HAVE  
A DREAM'  
ANNIVERSARY  
ISSUE

## FOUNDING FATHER

**MARTIN LUTHER KING JR.,  
ARCHITECT OF THE 21ST CENTURY**

By Jon Meacham

**MEMORIES OF THE  
MARCH ON WASHINGTON**

By John Lewis, Harry Belafonte, Joan Baez,  
Julian Bond and 13 others who were there

**THE DREAM TODAY**


By Michele Norris

**WHAT KING'S WORDS MEAN TO ME**

By Maya Angelou, Malala Yousafzai,  
Marco Rubio, Colin Powell and more

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ALL IN MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. AND NAACP HEAD ROY WILKINS WATCH MARCHERS AT THE NATIONAL MALL ON AUG. 28, 1963

## ONE MAN.

Martin Luther King Jr. drew from the injustices of Jim Crow and the inspirations of Scripture to mobilize America against racism. How a preacher led the nation to a moral epiphany  
*By Jon Meacham*

PAGE 26

## ONE MARCH.

John Lewis, Harry Belafonte, Joan Baez, Julian Bond and 13 others remember the planning, organization and exaltation of that historic gathering on the National Mall 50 years ago

PAGE 46

## ONE SPEECH.

Halfway through, King abandoned his written remarks, and Presidents have been trying ever since to emulate the soaring oratory of "I Have a Dream"  
*By Richard Norton Smith*

PAGE 80

## ONE DREAM.

America has both exceeded King's expectations and come up far short on measures of equality. The march goes on  
*By Michele Norris*

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Plus: Colin Powell, Malala Yousafzai, Maya Angelou and more on the meaning of King's dream

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Etharhin Cousin

ON THE COVER: Photograph © Dan Budnik—Contact Press Images

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# Conversation

## What You Said About ...

### DISAPPEARING BEES

"This is not a world in which we want to live," wrote **Earth Eats**, a public-radio show, posting *TIME*'s Aug. 19 cover on Instagram (which featured the cover line A WORLD WITHOUT BEES). **Bryan Walsh**'s story on the demise of honeybees, the pollinating force of nature behind \$15 billion in U.S. crops, led to commentary from Salon, where **Lindsay Abrams** lamented the lack of "promising solutions." Meanwhile, American bees got short shrift, wrote **Carol Davitt** of the Missouri Prairie Foundation. "The approximately 3,500 species of native bees in North America ... help the survival of native bees and honeybees alike."



**TED CRUZ** The Texas Senator's comments on President Obama (who Cruz said has "profoundly dangerous" ideas) in **Alex Altman**'s profile prompted analyses at the *Washington Post*, *USA Today* and *Huffington Post* and lively responses from readers. "Please, please, please let Republicans like Cruz do their crazy best. Makes the elections in 2016 a cakewalk," wrote **Sunflower52** on *TIME*.com. Commentary editor **John Podhoretz** frowned on Cruz's pop-culture IQ, tweeting, "His reference ... is Madonna and Sean Penn? They divorced 25 years ago!" On *TIME*.com, supporter **Ted Peters** called Cruz a "brilliant" thinker who would create jobs, while conceding, "He's just not all that 'cool'—the paramount characteristic for the media and the young."

**TECH-SAVVY KIDS** **Eliana Dockterman**'s story about the merits of kids' tech use sparked a debate on MSNBC's *Morning Joe* and some sighs from baby boomers. "To me, there's a big danger," said panelist **Donny Deutsch**. "You've got to pull kids away, they can't have their faces in these things." On Twitter, elementary-school assistant principal **Terran Newman** took a different view: "Shocked to learn that all parents may not support digital learning."



## Write to us

Send an e-mail: [letters@time.com](mailto:letters@time.com). Please do not send attachments

Send a letter: *TIME* Magazine Letters, *Time & Life Building*, New York, NY 10020. Letters should include the writer's full name, address and home telephone and may be edited for purposes of clarity and space

### BEYOND THE COVER



On April 30, when Harry Belafonte sat for a photo and video shoot with *TIME* filmmaker Marco Grob—part of our *One Dream* project commemorating 1963's March on Washington—the singer-activist recalled meeting Martin Luther King Jr. for the first time in the '50s after hearing him speak at a Harlem church. "He had said that we would take maybe 20 or 30 minutes to just talk," Belafonte says. "It was almost four hours when we finally broke for breath."

### RED BORDER FILMS

Harry Belafonte is one of 17 speakers featured in *One Dream*, a five-part docu-series from Red Border Films, *TIME*'s new filmmaking unit and interactive digital platform.

TO WATCH, VISIT [TIME.COM/ONEDREAM](http://TIME.COM/ONEDREAM)

### FROM LIFE.COM

As part of our multimedia *One Dream* package, *LIFE*.com has assembled more than a dozen galleries featuring critical moments—and some never-before-published images—from the civil rights movement. Among the subjects: The Little Rock Nine, the first black students to attend Little Rock Central High School in 1957, and the Freedom Riders, who risked their lives integrating buses across the American South.



▲ The Little Rock Nine battled state National Guardsmen, bottom, to enter school



▲ In 1961, Freedom Riders protested segregation on buses

**FOR MORE ...** Every element of *TIME*'s *One Dream* coverage—including the *LIFE* galleries, images from readers and interviews with March on Washington participants—is available at [time.com/onedream](http://time.com/onedream).

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# Briefing



**'WE HAVE A LOT OF POLITICIANS WHO HAVE REALLY SMALL BRAINS AND REALLY BIG HEARTS.'**

**RAND PAUL**, U.S. Senator, criticizing supporters of Obamacare, which he says will cost citizens enough to outweigh its good intentions

**'Anyone who says that racial discrimination is not a problem in American elections must not be paying attention.'**

**HILLARY CLINTON**, calling for election reform in the first of a series of speeches that have fueled speculation that she will run for President in 2016



**13 lb., 11 oz.**

Weight (6.2 kg) of the biggest baby ever born naturally in Spain; remarkably, her mother used no epidural



**OpenTable**

**OpenTable**

News of a partnership with Facebook sent the dining app's stock price up

**GOOD WEEK**

**BAD WEEK**

**Samsung**

A court ruling said it infringed on two Apple smartphone patents



**'They will not be secure day or night, during 'Id or other times.'**

**AL-QAEDA**, after its bombings killed at least 70 Iraqis on the Muslim holiday marking the end of Ramadan in retaliation for the government's arrest of suspected militants

**'For me, golf is a little bit more boring. I hit it in the fairway or I didn't.'**

**JASON DUFNER**,

PGA champion, on why he didn't show much emotion—unlike football, baseball and basketball players—after winning a major tournament



**800 m.p.h.**

Estimated speed (1,287 km/h) of the Hyperloop high-speed rail system proposed by Tesla Motors founder Elon Musk



**48%**

Percentage of Web users who share their password with others, according to a recent survey by Google

**'The President is like a child playing with building blocks.'**

**YEVGENIY ZHOVITIS**, Kazakh human-rights activist, criticizing President Nursultan Nazarbayev (right) for spending billions on the capital city, Astana, despite widespread national poverty



Briefing

# LightBox

## The Protector

An Egyptian woman stands in the path of a military bulldozer as it bears down on a wounded man near the Raba'a al-Adawiya mosque during deadly skirmishes in eastern Cairo on Aug. 14

Photograph by Mohammed Abdel Monem—AFP/Getty Images

FOR PICTURES OF THE WEEK,  
GO TO [lightbox.time.com](http://lightbox.time.com)







## World

## Carnage in Cairo as Egypt Cracks Down On Protests

BY ASHRAF KHALIL

After issuing repeated warnings, Egyptian security forces on Aug. 14 raided two protest sites in Cairo that for weeks had been occupied by the Muslim Brotherhood and supporters of deposed President Mohamed Morsi. Carnage followed. Inevitably, police and Islamists accused each other of firing the first shots, but the majority of the protesters were unarmed. By day's end, the official death toll had exceeded 200 and was climbing fast. The violence also spread to other parts of the country.

The crackdown had been coming since July 24, when General Abdul Fattah al-Sisi, the military chief, called for backers of the military-led government to stage rallies in

support of using force against "terrorists," his euphemism for pro-Morsi groups. International appeals for restraint only temporarily stayed al-Sisi's hand.

The interim government says the crackdown will allow it to start preparing for parliamentary and presidential elections to be held sometime next year. But the clashes could mark the start of a long period of unrest and military rule. Already, there is dissent among those who backed the military coup against Morsi. Interim Vice President Mohamed ElBaradei, a noted liberal, resigned after the government announced a monthlong state of emergency. Perhaps the Nobel laureate sees a future for Egypt that looks uncomfortably like its past: the last time a military-led government declared a state of emergency—in 1967—it lasted, with one 18-month break, for almost 45 years.



Security forces stand next to protesters arrested during the clearing of Nahda Square in Cairo on Aug. 14

## DATA

## WORLD'S CHEAPEST LUXURY HOTELS

Luxury-Hotels.com ranked top hotels on the basis of their lowest average per-night double-occupancy rates. (No suites!)

**\$1,824**

Hotel Romazzino (Italy)

**\$1,929**

Le Réserve Paris (France)

**\$1,987**

Amankora (Bhutan)

**\$2,040**

Canouan Resort (St. Vincent and the Grenadines)

## Explainer

## How Africa Developed A Drinking Problem

According to the World Health Organization, Africa has the world's highest proportion of binge drinkers. Here are some reasons why:



## ► HIGH UNEMPLOYMENT

A significant share of Africa's teenagers and young adults don't have jobs—about 65% in Kenya, for example—and are not educated about the dangers of alcohol abuse.



## ► LAX LAW ENFORCEMENT

Many countries have laws restricting the sale of alcohol to minors, but critics say stronger policing is needed to ensure that vendors obey them.

## ► MOONSHINE MAYHEM

Poor Africans have historically made their own booze, using dangerous ingredients like battery acid and methanol to increase its potency.

## ► SWIRLING MULTATIONALS

Major brewers like Diageo and SABMiller are starting to target Africa's rising middle class, spending billions on ads and manufacturing.

Roundup  
When World Leaders Go Undercover

Norwegian Prime Minister Jens Stoltenberg recently disguised himself as an Oslo cabdriver to learn how voters—some of whom were reportedly paid to participate—really felt about his government ahead of Sept. 9 elections. But he's hardly the first political figure to go incognito.



## HAROUN AL-RASHID

According to legend, the 9th century Caliph donned civilian garb and walked through the streets of Baghdad to learn about his subjects.



## HENRY V

In Shakespeare's *Henry V*, the King disguises himself as a regular soldier to mingle with his troops and gauge their morale before battle.



## PAVEL BEM

Prague's former mayor posed as an Italian tourist to verify claims that local cops were ripping off foreigners.





## An 'Id to Remember

**LIBYA** Men dressed in folk costume ride horses during 'Id al-Fitr in Benghazi on Aug. 9 to mark the end of the holy month of Ramadan. The holiday this year was marked by the closings of U.S. embassies and consulates across the Middle East, Africa and Asia because of threats that al-Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula was planning an attack—with Yemen as the perceived target. The attack never materialized. Photograph by Esam Omran Al-Fetori—Reuters



GERMANY

# \$1,330

Reward offered for finding a large snapping turtle thought to have attacked a boy in an irsee lake

**PRINCE WILLIAM**  
The heir to the British throne once spent a night sleeping on the streets of London to experience firsthand the hardship of homelessness.



**RICHARD CODEY**  
In 2012 the former governor of New Jersey donned a beat-up hat and a fake beard to investigate Newark homeless shelters.



ZIMBABWE

‘Those who can’t stomach the defeat, you can commit suicide.’



**ROBERT MUGABE**, Zimbabwean President, dismissed supporters of former Minister-Mugabe from cabinet, other Mugabe-backed him in the July runoff.

## Trending In



### MUSIC

U.K. singer Adele will reportedly make her feature-film debut in the o-gy-style flick *The Secret Service*.



### HISTORY

Archaeologists in Guatemala unearthed a large, well-preserved stucco frieze depicting Maya gods and leaders.



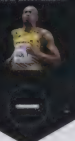
### SCANDAL

Oprah alleged racism after a Zurich shop clerk said a \$3,000 handbag was “too expensive” for her; the store called it a misunderstanding.



### SPORTS

The World Athletics Championships in Moscow were marred by low attendance.



## Nation

## Join Us at the Picnic! Iowa wins, no matter who runs

BY ZEKE J. MILLER

DOES ANY STATE HAVE A BETTER understanding of the real intersection of money and politics than Iowa, the land of corn, soybeans and caucuses? If so, it's hard to imagine: though its caucuses are still 29 months away, the Hawkeye State is already renting cars, booking hotel rooms and serving up platefuls of pork chops to White House hopefuls and the reporters who follow them.

It amounts to more than a cottage industry. The state is likely to take in tens of millions over the next 2½ years even as Iowa's first-in-the-nation contests become less of a predictor (remember, Rick Santorum topped the GOP field in 2012). Yet still they come: veterans like Santorum, who turned up in the same pickup truck he used two years ago, and newcomers like Texas Senator Ted Cruz, who has already made two pilgrimages and has a third on the docket.

Democrats have been slower to pay homage, though Vice President Joe Biden is due. Hillary Clinton doesn't have anything booked yet—but that's likely to change. "It seems like it starts earlier and earlier," says Iowa Governor Terry Branstad, a remark that could have been made anytime after 1976, when Jimmy Carter turned the little-known caucuses into a springboard to the Democratic nomination. Adds Branstad: "We appreciate the attention." And the economic boost that comes with it.

HAWKEYE HUSTLE:  
THE CAMPAIGN IS  
ALREADY ON IN IOWA

A fundraiser lured Rubio just 11 days after the 2012 election

NOV  
2012MARCO  
RUBIO

11/17/12

Florida Senator Marco Rubio has the distinction of being the first visitor to the Hawkeye State in the 2016 cycle. The immigration-reform advocate addressed Iowa Governor Terry Branstad's birthday bash last November—not two weeks after Mitt Romney lost the election.

SCOTT  
WALKER

6/23/13

Maybe he's just seeing old friends? The Wisconsin governor, who addressed the Polk County Republican Party's spring fundraising dinner, spent several years in Plainfield, Iowa, as a child.

TED  
CRUZRAND  
PAUL

7/10

Kentucky Senator Rand Paul appeared at the same July gathering of ministers as his fellow outspoken first-term colleague Cruz.

Family ties should provide a boost if he runs: the state GOP is controlled by supporters of his father, former Representative Ron Paul.

BOBBY  
JINDAL

8/3

The Louisiana governor is betting on back-scratching, skipping a meeting of the National Governors Association to attend a fundraiser for Branstad. The Iowa governor joined Jindal at the event and a party hosted by local GOP donor Bruce Rastetter.

RICK  
SANTORUMAMY  
KLOBUCHAR

8/18

Minnesota Senator Amy Klobuchar has been cultivating Iowans since the 2012 Democratic National Convention, where she spoke at the state Democratic Party's breakfast. Her visit to the North Iowa Wing Ding fundraiser makes her the first potential Democratic contender to hit the state.

JOE  
BIDEN

9/18

The Vice President is following in his boss's footsteps, speaking at Iowa Senator Tom Harkin's annual steak fry in September. In 2006, then Senator Barack Obama used the high-profile event to build a reputation in the state that helped propel him to the White House.

PAUL  
RYAN



1,452 DAYS  
AWAY FROM  
THE 2016  
ELECTION

NOV.  
2015

7/19 8/10 10/25

The freshman Senator from Texas has visited more than any other 2016 hopeful, courting conservative pastors in July and evangelical activists in August. He'll have a broader audience this fall, when he speaks at the Iowa Republican Party's Reagan Dinner in Des Moines.

8/8-10

The former Pennsylvania Senator is replicating the barnstorming strategy that led to his 2012 Republican-caucus win, unofficially kicking off his campaign with a three-day, 400-mile road trip through the state filled with meetings, speeches and a visit to the state fair. If it ain't broke ...

11/16

Mitt Romney's running mate is scheduled to speak at Branstad's birthday party—the same event Rubio attended last year. “This is the nice thing about being from Iowa,” Branstad says of his ability to attract White House aspirants to his annual fundraiser.

## Frisked and Stopped

**NEW YORK CITY** It's a jarring statistic: some 4.4 million people, most of them black or Hispanic, were stopped by New York City police from 2004 to 2012 under a crime-fighting tactic known as stop and frisk. Mayor Michael Bloomberg argues that the practice contributed to the more than 30% drop in major crimes during his 12-year tenure. But that wasn't enough to overcome the doubts of a federal judge, who found that the NYPD engaged in “indirect racial profiling” and declared the practice unconstitutional on Aug. 12. The ruling does not end stop and frisk; the judge appointed a monitor to oversee reforms to the program, like having some officers wear cameras. And it may compel police departments around the country to re-examine their tactics. A legal battle is likely—Bloomberg has vowed to appeal, though it will be up to his successor to continue the fight or accept federal oversight when the next mayor takes over in January. “This is a first step in a chess game that is going to have a hundred different moves throughout governments and police administration,” says Frank Zimring, a professor at the University of California, Berkeley, law school. “It could work out well. It could go badly.” —ELIZA GRAY AND NATE RAWLINGS

## 811

The number of American babies born in 2012 named Messiah. A judge in Newport, Tenn., citing religious reasons, ordered local parents on Aug. 8 to rename their son Messiah as Martin. Legal experts expect the judge to be overruled on appeal.



## Is the Senate Any Place For a Star?

IT'S A CAKEWALK THAT raises a question. Newark Mayor Cory Booker easily won the Aug. 13 Democratic primary for New Jersey's vacant Senate seat. But why does a rising star with a huge social-media following, a deep fundraising network and a gift for retail politics want to be a U.S. Senator?

The Senate is a tough place for impatient people. It was a great, if brief, résumé builder for Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama—not to mention two of the latest Republican presidential hopefuls, Ted Cruz and Rand Paul. But to do anything important there, you have to accrue seniority over decades. Just ask John Kerry: it took him 24 years to become chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. There's a reason it's called the world's greatest deliberative body.

If Booker prevails against a weak GOP field in an Oct. 16 special election, his prize will be a backbench seat and the expectation that he dim his wattage, at least for the short term.

Booker's energy and

hands-on style are better suited to running a city or to visiting Iowa, New Hampshire and the other stomping grounds of a presidential candidate—something the ambitious politician may aspire to be someday. So why detour through the famously cloistered Senate? Because Governor Chris Christie, the only other New Jersey politician as popular as Booker, is blocking the more traditional path to the White House.

A Senate run may not have been Booker's first choice, but it's safer than taking on Christie and more promising than sticking around stubbornly depressed Newark—a sitting mayor has never been elected President.

“When he inevitably runs for President, Booker will claim executive experience from Newark and national expertise via the Senate,” says Larry Sabato, director of the University of Virginia's Center for Politics. “Somehow, I doubt Booker plans a terribly long Senate stay before his next move.”

—JAY NEWTON SMALL



## Nation



## Unhappy Warrior Boxed in by security threats and politics, Obama fights on

BY MICHAEL CROWLEY

IT WASN'T SO LONG AGO THAT BARACK Obama found widespread government snooping disturbing. In 2007, then Senator Obama co-sponsored a bill that would have reined in government surveillance programs by limiting the bulk collection of U.S. telephone records with a requirement for narrower and better-justified data searches. When the House of Representatives considered a similar amendment in late July, however, Obama's White House succeeded in killing it.

Now Obama is playing the role of reformer. Edward Snowden has escaped his Moscow-airport purgatory and apparently stopped letting new details trickle out about the National Security Agency's activities. But after Congress returns from its summer recess next month, it will again tackle the question of how far government should go in the fight against terrorists. Speaking to reporters on Aug. 9 before starting his own vacation, Obama said he welcomes congressional action.

That doesn't mean the NSA's sweeping data-collection powers are likely to change much. Once again, when it comes to fighting terrorism, Obama has found himself stuck with policies he previously

decried but that he now can't—or won't—get rid of.

Congress will take some kind of action on the NSA surveillance programs this fall. Senate Intelligence Committee chair Dianne Feinstein has announced hearings on the NSA's data collection, and Senators and staff are preparing legislation. Feinstein's ideas are modest, however: they include requiring the annual release of the number of times the government searched the NSA's database of telephone records and reducing the time that phone records are held from five years to two or three years. The Republican-led House may be less amenable to civil-liberties concerns. A liberal-libertarian alliance featuring the

WHEN IT COMES TO FIGHTING TERRORISM, OBAMA HAS FOUND HIMSELF STUCK WITH POLICIES HE PREVIOUSLY DECRIED

likes of Vermont Senator Bernie Sanders and Kentucky Senator Rand Paul might stage a revolt, but leaders in Congress are more focused on appeasing public outrage than imposing limits on NSA spying. "We are of the mind that these programs are effective and lawful and ought to continue—but in a way that has greater support from the public," says one congressional staffer.

That echoes the tone the President struck in his Aug. 9 news conference, at which he proposed his own set of rather modest reforms in the name of sustaining the surveillance programs. Obama summed up his goal perhaps too neatly when he said, "The question is, How do I make the American people more comfortable?" It was a far cry from the operational limits Obama supported as a Senator.

Obama has jawboned Americans on other counterterrorism programs recently too. In late May he delivered a long speech in which he announced stricter rules governing drone strikes and vowed to close Guantánamo Bay. "This war, like all wars, must end," Obama said then. But this month's Yemen-based al-Qaeda terrorism alert, coupled with the stinging memory of last year's deadly attack in Benghazi, Libya, underscores how little progress Obama has made in curtailing his counterterrorism programs. Closing Gitmo, for instance, requires transferring dozens of Yemeni detainees, but after a 2009 al-Qaeda plot that originated in Yemen, the process was halted and is not likely to commence anytime soon. And after a lull in drone activity over Yemen, the U.S. has conducted at least nine strikes there since late July.

Even in May, before Snowden revealed the scope of NSA surveillance, Obama was struggling to reconcile his old civil-liberties views with his current security positions. Critics in Congress were upset that federal agents hadn't followed up more aggressively on tips about the Boston Marathon bomber Tamerlan Tsarnaev. In his speech, Obama assured the public that he would protect civil liberties. But, he said, he would be "reviewing the authorities of law enforcement, so we can intercept new types of communication." What would the Obama of 2007 say?

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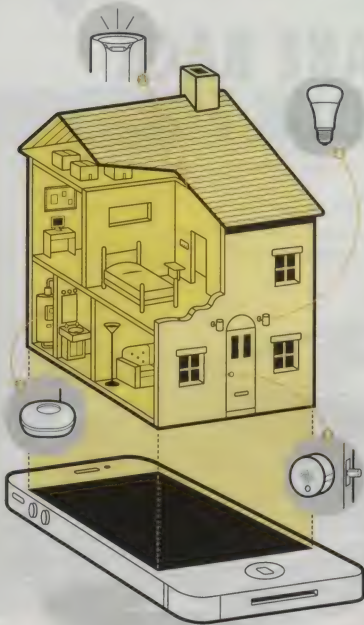
New gadgets bring household automation into the smartphone era

IN 2011, A STARTUP CALLED NEST introduced a new thermostat. With its sleek design, circular color touchscreen and approachable interface, it felt more like an iPod than a piece of HVAC equipment. Which makes sense, since Nest was co-founded by Tony Fadell, Apple's longtime iPod head honcho.

By proving that something as mundane as a thermostat doesn't have to be mundane, Nest helped inspire a generation of home-automation products that are now arriving in force. Other distinguished alumni of the consumer-electronics business are joining the fray, including industrial-design guru Yves Béhar, known for fashionable gizmos like the Jawbone headset. He's one of the minds behind August, a front-door lock that lets you use your phone as a key without so much as bothering to remove it from your pocket.

Whatever their purpose, these household products use wireless networking for easy installation and Internet connectivity. No need to rip up your walls and run cabling. They're as much about elegant software as they are about capable hardware—especially software that runs on smartphones, allowing you to use your handset like a remote control.

And unlike such strictly utilitarian forebears as gas meters, devices in this new wave aren't eyesores. "It's hard to understand why others have not focused on this. I mean, this is for a home," says Adam Sager, a 15-year veteran of the security industry whose new project is Canary, a tabletop home-monitoring system. Gleaming and cylindrical, the final product looks as if it might be some sort of audio player. Security may be serious business, but that doesn't mean it can't be stylish too.



## House Whispering

## CANARY

The makers of this pint-size security system—with an HD camera, motion detectors and a fire-detecting temperature gauge—set out to raise \$100,000 on crowdfunding site Indiegogo. Pledges quickly topped \$1 million. Available summer 2014.

## SMARTTHINGS

This startup aims to make every house an Internet-enabled home. Its kits include a variety of do-it-yourself gear, including a lost-key finder and a moisture sensor that can alert you if your water heater springs a leak. Available now (on waiting list).

## AUGUST

This Web-powered door lock works with standard dead bolts and talks to smartphones over Bluetooth. It unlocks the door automatically when you arrive home and lets you grant temporary access to friends. Available later this year.

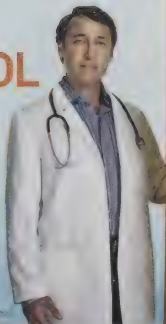
PHILIPS HUE

At \$200 for a starter pack of three, these LED lightbulbs are pricey. But they last for 15 years and allow you to control their color via a phone app. You can simulate a sunrise to wake you gently or generate funky lighting for a party. Available now.



# IS YOUR CHOLESTEROL AT GOAL?

Ask your doctor about CRESTOR.



## In a clinical trial vs Lipitor® (atorvastatin calcium), CRESTOR got more high-risk patients' bad cholesterol to a goal of under 100\*

\*LDL (bad) cholesterol goal is less than 100 mg/dL  
in high-risk patients, per Treatment Guidelines

Getting to goal is important, especially if you have  
**HIGH CHOLESTEROL** plus any of these risk factors:

- **DIABETES**
- **HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE**
- **FAMILY HISTORY OF EARLY HEART DISEASE**

because you could be at increased risk for plaque  
buildup in your arteries over time.

When diet and exercise alone aren't enough, CRESTOR is prescribed along with diet in adults to lower high cholesterol and to slow plaque buildup in arteries as part of a treatment plan to lower cholesterol to goal.

**Important Safety Information about prescription CRESTOR Tablets.** CRESTOR is not right for everyone. Do not take CRESTOR if you are nursing, pregnant or may become pregnant; have liver problems; or have had an allergic reaction to CRESTOR. Your doctor should do blood tests to check your liver before starting treatment and if you have symptoms of liver problems while taking CRESTOR. Call your doctor right away if you have unexplained muscle pain or weakness, especially with fever; have muscle problems that do not go away even after your doctor told you to stop taking CRESTOR; feel unusually tired; or have loss of appetite, upper belly pain, dark urine, or yellowing of skin or eyes. These could be signs of rare but serious side effects. Elevated blood sugar levels have been reported with statins, including CRESTOR. The most common side effects may include headache, muscle aches, abdominal pain, weakness, and nausea. Memory loss and confusion have also been reported with statins, including CRESTOR. Tell your doctor and pharmacist about other medicines you are taking.

If you can't afford your medication, AstraZeneca may be able to help. For more information, please visit [www.AstraZeneca-us.com](http://www.AstraZeneca-us.com)

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Please read Important Product Information on adjacent page and discuss with your doctor.

# IMPORTANT INFORMATION ABOUT CRESTOR® (ROSUVASTATIN CALCIUM)

Please read this summary carefully and then ask your health care professional about CRESTOR. No advertisement can provide all the information needed to determine if a drug is right for you. This advertisement does not take the place of careful discussions with your health care professional. Only your health care professional has the training to help weigh the risks and benefits of a prescription drug.

## WHAT IS CRESTOR?

CRESTOR is a prescription medicine that belongs to a group of cholesterol-lowering medicines called statins. Along with diet, CRESTOR lowers "bad" cholesterol (LDL-C) and increases "good" cholesterol (HDL-C). If bad cholesterol levels are left untreated, fatty deposits (plaque) can build up in the walls of the blood vessels. This plaque buildup, over time, can lead to narrowing of these vessels. This is one of the most common causes of heart disease. By lowering bad cholesterol in your blood, CRESTOR can slow this plaque buildup in the walls of blood vessels.

CRESTOR has been proven to reduce the risk of heart attacks and strokes in people without known heart disease, but who are at increased risk based on age (men 50 years and older, women 60 years and older), elevated blood levels of hsCRP (a marker of inflammation that can be associated with increased risk of cardiovascular events, such as heart attack and stroke), plus at least one additional risk factor (such as high blood pressure, low HDL "good" cholesterol, smoking, or family history of early heart disease).

## WHAT IS CHOLESTEROL?

Cholesterol is a fatty substance, also called a lipid, normally found in your bloodstream. Your body needs a certain amount of cholesterol to function properly. But high cholesterol can lead to health problems. LDL-C is called bad cholesterol because if you have too much in your bloodstream, it can become a danger to your health and can lead to potentially serious conditions. HDL-C is known as good cholesterol because it may help remove excess cholesterol. Common health factors such as diabetes, high blood pressure, smoking, obesity, family history of early heart disease, and age can make controlling your cholesterol even more important.

## WHAT IS ATHEROSCLEROSIS?

Atherosclerosis is the progressive buildup of plaque in the arteries over time. One major cause is high levels of LDL-C. Other health factors, such as family history, diabetes, high blood pressure, or if you smoke or are overweight, may also play a role in the formation of plaque in arteries. Often this plaque starts building up in arteries in early adulthood and gets worse over time.

## HOW DOES CRESTOR WORK?

Most of the cholesterol in your blood is made in the liver. CRESTOR works by reducing cholesterol in two ways: CRESTOR blocks an enzyme in the liver causing the liver to make less cholesterol, and CRESTOR increases the uptake and breakdown by the liver of cholesterol already in the blood.

## WHO SHOULD NOT TAKE CRESTOR?

Do not take CRESTOR if you

- are pregnant or think you may be pregnant, or are planning to become pregnant. CRESTOR may harm your unborn baby. If you become pregnant, stop taking CRESTOR and call your health care professional right away
- are breast-feeding. CRESTOR can pass into your breast milk and may harm your baby
- have liver problems
- have had an allergic reaction to CRESTOR or are allergic to any of its ingredients.

The active ingredient is rosuvastatin calcium. The inactive ingredients are microcrystalline cellulose, lactose monohydrate, tribasic calcium phosphate, croscarmellose,

(continued)

magnesium stearate, hypromellose, triacetin, titanium dioxide, yellow ferric oxide, and red ferric oxide. The safety and effectiveness of CRESTOR have not been established in children under the age of 10.

## HOW SHOULD I TAKE CRESTOR?

- Take CRESTOR exactly as prescribed by your health care professional. Do not change your dose or stop CRESTOR without talking to your health care professional, even if you are feeling well
- Your health care professional may do blood tests to check your cholesterol levels before and during your treatment with CRESTOR. Your dose of CRESTOR may be changed based on these blood test results
- CRESTOR can be taken at any time of day, with or without food
- Swallow the tablets whole
- Your health care professional should start you on a cholesterol-lowering diet before giving you CRESTOR. Stay on this diet when you take CRESTOR
- Wait at least 2 hours after taking CRESTOR to take an antacid that contains a combination of aluminum and magnesium hydroxide
- If you miss a dose of CRESTOR, take it as soon as you remember. However, do not take 2 doses of CRESTOR within 12 hours of each other
- If you take too much CRESTOR or overdose, call your health care professional or Poison Control Center right away or go to the nearest emergency room

## WHAT SHOULD I TELL MY HEALTH CARE PROFESSIONAL BEFORE TAKING CRESTOR?

Tell your health care professional if you

- have a history of muscle pain or weakness
- are pregnant or think you may be pregnant, or are planning to become pregnant
- are breast-feeding
- drink more than 2 glasses of alcohol daily
- have liver problems
- have kidney problems
- have thyroid problems
- are Asian or of Asian descent

Tell your health care professional about all medicines you take or plan to take, including prescription and non-prescription medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements. Some medicines may interact with CRESTOR, causing side effects. It is particularly important to tell your health care professional if you are taking or plan to take medicines for

- your immune system
- cholesterol/triglycerides
- blood thinning
- HIV/AIDS
- preventing pregnancy

Know all of the medicines you take and what they look like. It's always a good idea to check that you have the right prescription before you leave the pharmacy and before you take any medicine. Keep a list of your medicines with you to show your health care professional.

If you need to go to the hospital or have surgery, tell all of your health care professionals about all medicines that you are taking.

## WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE SIDE EFFECTS OF CRESTOR?

CRESTOR can cause side effects in some people. Serious side effects may include:

**Muscle problems.** Call your health care professional right away if you experience unexplained muscle pain, tenderness, or weakness, especially with fever. This may be an early sign of a rare muscle problem that could lead to serious kidney problems. The risk of muscle problems is greater in people who are 65 years of age or older, or who already have thyroid or kidney problems. The chance of muscle problems may be increased if you are taking certain other medicines with CRESTOR.

If you have muscle problems that do not go away even after your health care professional has advised you to stop taking CRESTOR, notify your health care professional. Your health care professional may do further tests to diagnose the cause of your muscle problems.

**Liver problems.** Your health care professional should do blood tests to check your liver before you start taking CRESTOR and if you have symptoms of liver problems while you take CRESTOR. Call your doctor right away if you have any of the following symptoms of liver problems

- feel unusually tired or weak
- loss of appetite
- upper belly pain
- dark urine
- yellowing of your skin or the whites of your eyes

Elevated blood sugar levels have been reported with statins, including CRESTOR.

The most common side effects may include headache, muscle aches and pains, abdominal pain, weakness, and nausea. Memory loss and confusion have also been reported with CRESTOR.

This is not a complete list of side effects of CRESTOR. Tell your health care professional for a complete list or if you have side effects that bother you or that do not go away.

## HOW DO I STORE CRESTOR?

Store CRESTOR at room temperature, 68-77°F (20-25°C), in a dry place. If your health care professional tells you to stop treatment or if your medicine is out of date, throw the medicine away. Keep CRESTOR and all medicines in a secure place and out of the reach of children.

## WHERE CAN I GET MORE INFORMATION ABOUT CRESTOR?

Talk to your health care professional. Full Prescribing Information is available on CRESTOR.COM or by calling 1-800-CRESTOR.

## GENERAL INFORMATION

It is important to take CRESTOR as prescribed and to discuss any health changes you experience while taking CRESTOR with your health care professional. Do not use CRESTOR for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give CRESTOR to other people, even if they have the same medical condition you have. It may harm them. NOTE: This summary provides important information about CRESTOR. For more information, please ask your health care professional about the full Prescribing Information and discuss it with him or her.

Visit **CRESTOR.COM** or call the Information Center at AstraZeneca toll-free at **1-800-CRESTOR**.

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**CRESTOR**  
rosuvastatin calcium

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## Health



## Not-So-Private Practice The group checkup arrives

BY ALICE PARK

"AS SOON AS I MENTION shared medical appointments, everybody pictures a room full of people in their underwear," says Dr. Richard Kratche, a family physician at the Cleveland Clinic. Actually, most people could picture a lot worse, but despite that, Kratche is one of a growing number of doctors who conduct group visits for routine physicals—and his patients are part of a growing number of folks who are fine with that.

Since 2005, the percentage of U.S. family-medicine practices offering group visits has doubled, from 6% to 13%. And with major provisions of the Affordable Care Act set to be implemented next year, medicine en masse is becoming an attractive cost saver too. While your private moments remain private, consultations are conducted as a group, and that requires

divulging personal information in front of strangers (albeit ones who have signed confidentiality waivers).

Still, some patients like the appointments because they can learn more about preventing disease and avoiding expensive treatments, and doctors like them because they streamline the way they deliver care. Rather than repeating the same advice about lowering blood pressure or keeping glucose levels in check to individual patients, physicians see up to a dozen patients at once for about 90 minutes. Each gets some one-on-one time with the doctor before the group discusses every member's progress.

Such sharing isn't for everyone, however, and some doctors fear patients may be discouraged from discussing important health issues in a group setting. But among

those who try shared visits, about 85% don't go back to individual exams for everything from diabetes to weight loss and skin-related issues.

No national studies have yet documented whether these visits are improving health outcomes, but patients say they learn more from them than they would after 15 minutes alone with a doctor. Bruce Moore, who gets an annual physical with six other men at the Cleveland Clinic, lost 48 lb. (22 kg) and brought his blood pressure under control after seeing his unhealthy numbers posted on a board during his first shared visits. "Office visits can be intimidating, but the group is almost like extended family who support you and wish you well," says Moore.

### How Group Visits Work

**CHECK-IN** Patients sign in and see a nurse or physician's assistant, who takes their vital signs, including blood pressure, heart rate and weight

**ME TIME** If the visit includes one-on-one exams, the doctor sees each patient privately while a nurse answers questions for the others

**THE MORE THE MERRIER** If the visit is entirely shared, the doctor discusses each patient's case and reports on progress while the others observe and ask questions

**GROUP DISCUSSION** Because the visits last 90 minutes, patients have a chance to ask questions and learn from one another's experiences

FOR MORE IDEAS FOR THE FUTURE  
VISIT [time.com/breakthrough](http://time.com/breakthrough)



A photograph of a man with glasses and a young girl with blonde hair sitting together, reading a book. They are positioned in front of a large window, and the scene is warmly lit. The man is pointing at the book, and the girl is looking at it with a joyful expression.

SIEMENS

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Today, Siemens is strengthening that hope. With a host of new and innovative technologies like the Biograph mMR

scanner, healthcare professionals around the country are combating illness more efficiently and effectively. Offering patients and caregivers a greater chance to end their story with a "happily ever after."

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[siemens.com/answers](http://siemens.com/answers)

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## Milestones



DIED

## William Clark

### Reagan's right-hand man

In 1981, Ronald Reagan asked his former aide William Clark to come to Washington and serve as Deputy Secretary of State. The confirmation hearing was a disaster. Tasked with helping tame the Soviets at the height of the Cold War, Clark couldn't even define *détente*. "I had to start pretty much from ground zero," he admitted after getting the job.

But the self-effacing Californian, who dropped out of two colleges and became a state supreme court judge despite not having a law degree, spent his career confounding expectations. His time in Washington was no different. Clark's rapport with Reagan earned him influence; his loyalty and work ethic won him trust. As National Security Adviser, the foreign policy hard-liner pushed the President's "peace through strength" doctrine and urged the fractious Administration to "let Reagan be Reagan." Clark, who died Aug. 10 of Parkinson's disease at age 81, was a leading advocate of ramping up U.S. military involvement in Central America to stem the spread of communism. But it was his close relationship with the President that led *TIME* to name him, in 1983, the "second most powerful man in the White House." —ALEX ALTMAN

## SENTENCED

**Jesse Jackson Jr.**, former Democratic Congressman from Illinois, to 30 months in prison for spending \$750,000 in campaign funds on personal expenses. His wife Sandi received a one-year sentence for her involvement.

## DIED

**Eydie Gorme**, 84, Grammy Award-winning pop singer who found success during the mid-20th century, both with husband Steve Lawrence and as a solo act.



## CHARGED

Ex-JPMorgan Chase traders **Javier Martin-Artajo** and **Julien Grout** with fraud, as part of an investigation into the \$6.2 billion "London whale" trading losses.

## DIED

**Karen Black**, 74, acclaimed character actress who starred alongside Dennis Hopper and Peter Fonda in *Easy Rider* and also appeared with Jack Nicholson in *Five Easy Pieces*.

## FILED

A lawsuit challenging the proposed merger between **American Airlines** and **US Airways**, by the Justice Department. The consolidation of the two companies would create the world's largest airline.

## DIED

**Jack Germond**, 85, longtime political columnist and prominent TV commentator who was a staple on *The McLaughlin Group* and covered 10 presidential elections.

## CONNECTED

## Whitey Bulger

### Brutal Boston Mob boss

For nearly three decades, starting in the early 1970s, James "Whitey" Bulger led the Winter Hill Gang, a brutal confederation of the Irish Mafia in South Boston. He fled town in 1994, tipped off by a corrupt FBI agent that he was about to be indicted, and remained one of the most wanted fugitives in America until he was found in 2011, living under an alias in Santa Monica, Calif. He was then brought back to face trial in the city he once terrorized.

On Aug. 12, Bulger was convicted on 31 of 32 counts—including extortion, conspiracy, money laundering and murder. In a trial that exhumed some of the grimy interconnected history of the Boston underworld and the FBI, the federal jury found Bulger responsible for killing 11 people—including strangling a young woman. While the verdicts brought relief for many, the families of some victims are still raging. "Thirty-eight years ago when my father died, we always knew who killed him," said Connie Leonard, daughter of Francis "Buddy" Leonard, after the jury didn't find enough evidence to link Bulger to her father's death. "We still can't get any justice." —NATE RAWLINGS



# Virginia Postrel

## Let There Be Light

Plans to grow genetically modified plants ignited a firestorm at Kickstarter. They shouldn't have

**W**HETHER LIT BY FAIRIES IN A CHILDREN'S book or special-effects magic in *Avatar*, the sight of plants glowing in the dark has a special charm. We respond to lighted plants with wonder and joy.

So it's not surprising that a plan to produce glow-in-the-dark plants proved wildly popular on Kickstarter, the crowdfunding website. In 44 days, the project raised more than \$484,000—more than seven times the goal of \$65,000—from 8,433 donors. Using genes from bioluminescent bacteria or fireflies, the project aims to create a glowing version of a small, inedible plant called *Arabidopsis*, often dubbed plant biology's lab rat. The organizers then plan to move on to roses.

To reward donors, they offered seeds, plants and glowing roses for different amounts of money. Although Kickstarter steadfastly maintains that it's not a place to sell products, most successful projects attract donors who want a version of whatever the organizers are producing, whether that's the DVD of a documentary film or a watch made from an iPod Nano. Thousands of people, it turned out, wanted seeds for glow-in-the-dark plants.

The result was a culture war that has nothing to do with the usual red state–blue state split. It's a conflict between two cultural tribes within the generally left-of-center "creative class" that constitutes Kickstarter's core audience. On one side are the expansive techies, represented by the organizers and backers of the glowing plant. This tribe believes in the power of ingenuity and artifice to solve problems and generate delight. They embrace world-changing entrepreneurship and DIY tinkering. They tend to favor open-source solutions that share intellectual property—whether computer code or new DNA sequences—so that others can build on and improve new creations. This tribe supports such big-money Kickstarter projects as the 3-D printer that raised \$2.9 million, and it accounts for Kickstarter's frequent coverage on such high-traffic websites as *Wired* and *TechCrunch*.

On the other side are the hipster artists, represented by Kickstarter's founders. While the techies hack bits and atoms, the artists hack culture, telling stories, making pictures, singing songs, cooking meals. They too have a DIY ethos, but it's driven less by a desire for mastery (though that's there) than by a suspicion of distant specialists. They value localism and small-scale enterprise, instinctively opposing disruptive technologies and global commerce. One of

### KICKSTARTED

46,800

Number of  
Kickstarter-supported  
projects since the  
site's 2009 launch

Al Weiwei  
documentary

A feature-length film  
about the activist



Pizza museum  
Memorabilia and  
pizza parlor in  
Philadelphia



Claressa  
"T-Rex" Shields  
Gold medalist  
on film



their most lucrative projects, which raised more than \$1 million, was a hoodie designed to last a decade—an antifashion statement about history, craft and permanence. Among this tribe, genetically modified organisms are a food taboo, embodying anticorporate values and ideas of natural purity common in their circles, not the next wave of DIY innovation.

Until recently, the two tribes coexisted peacefully on Kickstarter. The techies didn't wage a campaign to wipe out a documentary opposing biotech food, and the artists didn't attack 3-D printing. But when the glowing plant project came along, antibiotech groups sprang into action, calling the project "genetic pollution" and charging that its organizers had "hijacked" Kickstarter from its artistic intent. DIY genetics, they warned, could be dangerous. Even worse was the project's seed giveaway—the "deliberate release into the environment" of a product of synthetic biology.

**N**EVER MIND THAT ARABIDOPSIS ISN'T A DANGEROUS plant or a weed, and that the genes for luminescence are benign and well understood. In fact, the project's biggest pitfall is that the light may not be bright enough for today's light-acustomed eyes to notice that the plant is glowing.

But the hysteria had the desired effect. It blew up Kickstarter's *modus vivendi*. Although the company, which takes a 5% revenue cut, let the glowing plant project proceed, its management has quietly slipped a new no-no into its ever-growing list of prohibitions: "Projects cannot offer genetically modified organisms as a reward." In the company's only public comments on the controversy, in an interview with *The Verge* website, co-founder Yancey Strickler suggested that the change is modest, because it limits only rewards, not projects themselves. But everyone knows that rewards are crucial to success. People don't want T-shirts of glowing plants. They want glowing plants.

The truth is that the company has picked sides. Instead of maintaining a neutral forum or hiring enough staff to screen projects one by one, Kickstarter has chosen to pander to fearmongers. With its blanket prohibition, it has betrayed the technologists who embraced it, promoted it and accounted for some of its most successful and profitable projects. It may be happy to take their money, but it isn't comfortable with their kind. ■

*Postrel is the author of 'The Power of Glamour,' to be published in November*





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Airline of the Year 2013 Skytrax World Airline Awards

# Rana Foroohar

## The End of TV as We Know It

While cable companies and networks bicker, consumers are staging a video revolution



IMAGINE A WORLD IN WHICH THE producers of buggy whips and the distributors of buggy whips are engaged in a vicious fight over who gets what percentage of whip-sale profits—even as more and more of their customers trade in horses for cars. That's a lot like what we've seen lately as CBS, the U.S.'s most popular broadcast network, has faced off against Time Warner Cable, the nation's second biggest cable company, over retransmission fees, the money paid by cable operators to ESPN, A&E and other channels for programming. While the giants have been busy arguing about how much pipe owners should pay content creators for top shows, viewers have begun unplugging. They are increasingly watching TV over the Internet, where they can get what they want for free (or for a lot less than the \$100 or more some shell out for cable and satellite).

IT'S A PHENOMENON KNOWN IN THE BUSINESS AS cord cutting, and it signals the biggest change in media consumption since the Internet began killing newspapers over a decade ago. The nearly 1 million households that have cut their cords in the past 12 months represent a fraction of the overall television market, according to a new report by Moffett Research. But that's double the number that bailed the previous year. What's more, pay-TV subscriptions, which have fallen for the past few years, had been expected to rebound as the housing market improved, since people often order service when they move into a new home. But now housing is up, and pay-TV penetration is still falling. "Cord cutting used to be an urban myth," says telecom analyst Craig Moffett, who is advising clients to sell a number of cable and telecom stocks, including Cablevision and Verizon. "It's not a myth anymore."

It reminds me of the tipping point several years ago when people realized they no longer needed a telephone landline and would do just fine with their cell phones. According to Forrester Research, 32 million consumers are already getting video over their televisions using Internet devices—including game consoles like Microsoft's Xbox, connected Blu-ray players and smart TVs made by electronics giants like Samsung and LG, and set-top boxes from companies like Apple. As these devices proliferate, the pace of cord cutting will accelerate. A recent study by the Diffusion Group found that consumers with

### THE MESSAGE FROM THE MEDIUM

The Sopranos



### OLD SCHOOL

Some 90% of video viewing last year was done on TV sets, but that share is projected to plummet in the next decade

Orange Is the New Black



### NEW SCHOOL

PCs, tablets and smartphones—along with smart TVs and streaming devices—are expected to capture 49% of viewing in 2020

Source: The Diffusion Group

Internet-connected TVs were twice as likely as other consumers to cancel their pay-TV services. Even those of us who have bundled TV and broadband-Internet subscriptions from telephone or cable companies increasingly use them to binge-watch Netflix shows like *Orange Is the New Black* on an iPad (in bed while enjoying a pint of salty caramel ice cream—not that I would know) rather than flip through 500 channels to find nothing on. As we've seen for decades, media-consumption habits evolve much faster than old media do.

TELEVISION IS NOW BEING DISINTERMEDIATED by the Web, just as print was. The transition has taken longer; television was starting from a bigger, richer base. But now that the technology is maturing, the shift will speed up. Already, you can see players like Liberty Media's John Malone scrambling. They hope to consolidate the cable industry and hold on to pricing power in negotiations with broadcasters and new players like Netflix that require Internet access for streaming. But analysts like Moffett believe that the window is closing and that federal regulators won't allow mergers that threaten the viability of streaming-video firms. None of this means that cable companies will go out of business. Indeed, they are still the only option for broadband Internet in much of the U.S. But unless they can begin to charge broadband customers on a usage basis, they will have no mechanism to recoup lost revenue as their video businesses erode.

This transition will also create new pressures—and opportunities—for content creators. When CBS wants to double what it charges for shows, it won't be able to hide behind Time Warner Cable anymore. If you click on *Dexter* and have to pay more, you'll know exactly who is charging you. New content creators, like Netflix and the YouTube production studio in L.A., are adding to the competition. As the click-to-watch model becomes ubiquitous, the real winners may be technology companies like Google, Apple, Microsoft and Amazon that operate across entire ecosystems, selling content and also designing devices and controlling lots of consumer information. Amid all this disruption, it's worth noting the other Big Media story of the moment: Amazon founder Jeff Bezos' purchase of the *Washington Post* for a song. If cord cutting is any indication, the story of television and the story of newspapers may have very similar endings. ■

## Honda SUMMER CLEARANCE EVENT

Kasi Jackson @KasiJackson



Oh, it's cool. It's not like I had plans or anything. #stupidcar

Honda @Honda

@KasiJackson, you might want to make some. #GreatDeals #HondaLove



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# ONE MAN. ONE MARCH. ONE

A NEW FOUNDING FATHER BY JON MEACHAM

THE GATHERING THAT CHANGED A NATION AN ORAL HISTORY

THE





# ONE SPEECH. ONE DREAM.

ROOT OF KINSHIP BY RICHARD NORTON SMITH

RACE IN AMERICA: THE DREAM TODAY BY MICHELE NORRIS



**WE SHALL OVERCOME** JOHN F. KENNEDY WORRIED THAT A CIVIL RIGHTS DEMONSTRATION IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL WOULD ERUPT INTO VIOLENCE. BUT PEACE AND SOLIDARITY WON THE DAY.



WITH MOVEMENT LEADERS, INCLUDING ANDREW YOUNG, SECOND ROW CENTER, AND JULIAN BOND, SECOND ROW FAR RIGHT, MIXING WITH THE CROWD

PHOTOGRAPH BY GORDON PARKS—LIFE



**STRENGTH IN NUMBERS** THE MARCH DREW 250,000 TO THE NATIONAL MALL. IT WAS THE LARGEST DEMONSTRATION TO DATE IN AMERICAN HISTORY





PHOTOGRAPH BY BRUCE DAVIDSON—MAGNUM



STAR POWER CELEBRITIES FROM HOLLYWOOD, INCLUDING HARRY DELAFONTE, JAMES GARNER, MARLON BRANDO AND CHARLTON HESTON, ARRIVE IN WASHINGTON FOR THE MARCH





**A KING AMONG MEN** LEAVING THE PODIUM, KING IS CONGRATULATED AFTER HIS SPEECH. HE IMPROVISED THE DREAM PASSAGE AT THE URGING OF MAHALIA JACKSON, LEFT, IN HAT





PHOTOGRAPH — DAN BUDNICK—CONTACT PRESS IMAGES

# ONE MAN.

With a single phrase, Martin Luther King Jr. joined Jefferson and Lincoln in the ranks of men who've shaped modern America

**BY JON MEACHAM**



**THE VOICE** KING AT SELMA, MARCH 25, 1965. HIS "DREAM" SPEECH HAD ESTABLISHED HIM AS THE MORAL LEADER OF THE NATION

PHOTOGRAPH © BOB ADELMAN

IT WAS NOT GOING WELL, OR AT LEAST not as well as Martin Luther King Jr. had hoped. The afternoon had been long: the crowds massed before the Lincoln Memorial were ready for some rhetorical adrenaline, some true poetry. King's task now was to lift his speech from the ordinary to the historic, from the mundane to the sacred. He was enjoying the greatest audience of his life. Yet with the television networks broadcasting live and President Kennedy watching from the White House, King was struggling with a text that had been drafted by too many hands late the previous night at the Willard Hotel. One sentence he was about to deliver was particularly awkward: "And so today, let us go back to our communities as members of the international association for the advancement of creative dissatisfaction." King was on the verge of letting the hour pass him by.

Then, as on Easter morning at the tomb of the crucified Jesus, there was the sound of a woman's voice. King had already begun to extemporize when Mahalia Jackson spoke up. "Tell 'em about the dream, Martin," said Jackson, who was standing nearby. King left his text altogether at this point—a departure that put him on a path to speaking words of American scripture, words as essential to the nation's destiny in their way as those of Abraham Lincoln, before whose memorial King stood, and those of Thomas Jefferson, whose monument lay to the preacher's right, toward the Potomac. The moments of ensuing oratory lifted King above the tumult of history and made him a figure of history—a "new founding father," in the apt phrase of the historian Taylor Branch.

"I say to you today, my friends ... even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream," King said. "It is a dream deeply rooted in the American Dream"—a dream that had been best captured in the promise of words written in a distant summer in Philadelphia by Jefferson. "I have a dream," King continued, "that one day this nation will rise up, live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.'"



TURNING POINT ON MARCH 15, 1965, A WEEK AFTER "BLOODY SUNDAY" IN SELMA, KING WATCHES JOHNSON EXHORT CONGRESS





TO PASS THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT

PHOTOGRAPH BY FRANK DANDRIDGE—TIME & LIFE PICTURES/GETTY IMAGES



THIS IS OUR HOPE KING AND HIS LIEUTENANTS MEET WITH KENNEDY JUST AFTER THE MARCH ON AUG. 28, 1963



HIGH NOTE MAHALIA JACKSON SINGS "I BEEN 'BUNKED AND I BEEN 'BUNKED"

Drawing on the Bible and "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," on the Emancipation Proclamation and the Constitution, King—like Jefferson and Lincoln before him—projected an ideal vision of an exceptional nation. In King's imagined country, hope triumphed over the fear that life is only about what Thomas Hobbes called the war of all against all rather than equal justice for all. In doing so, King defined the best of the nation as surely as Jefferson did in Philadelphia in 1776 or Lincoln did at Gettysburg in 1863.

*I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.*

*I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.*

*I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the*

*color of their skin but by the content of their character...  
I have a dream today.*

Fifty years on, no matter where one stands on the political spectrum, it's all too easy to be glib about the meaning of the March on Washington and the movement's victories: the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act. For some conservatives, the civil rights movement belongs to a kind of antiquity. In striking down a key section of the 1965 voting-rights legislation (a bill consistently renewed by Congress, including as recently as 2006 for an additional 25 years), Chief Justice John Roberts wrote that "our country has changed" and that the discriminatory world where African Americans were blocked from the ballot box no longer exists. On the other extreme, there are liberals who believe that racial progress has been so glacial—never mind gradual—that the shooting of a young man like Trayvon Martin (and the subsequent acquittal of his killer) is all too often the rule rather than the exception in America.

The prevailing reality—and a crucial legacy—of King's speech to the nation 50

Augusts ago may have been best captured this summer, in the wake of the Martin verdict, when a particular African American calmly enumerated the daily acts of racism that still shape our national life. "There are very few African-American men in this country who haven't had the experience of being followed when they were shopping in a department store. That includes me. And there are very few African-American men who haven't had the experience of walking across the street and hearing the locks click on the doors of cars. That happens to me, at least before I was a Senator. There are very few African Americans who haven't had the experience of getting on an elevator and a woman clutching her purse nervously and holding her breath until she had a chance to get off. That happens often."

A gloomy report. And yet, and yet: the black man making these observations in the James Brady Briefing Room of the White House was the 44th President of the United States, Barack Obama, who was a toddler when Martin Luther King Jr. stepped up to the podium at the march in 1963.

The most obvious observation about



CORNERED" FROM THE PODIUM



WE CANNOT WALK ALONE KING AND HIS CIRCLE JOIN THE 250,000 PROTESTERS MARCHING TO THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL

life since August 1963 is also the most accurate: we have traveled far, but not far enough. Revisiting King's speech, the religiously infused culture from which it sprang and the political moment in which he delivered it suggests that he, for one, wouldn't be especially surprised by the ambivalent state of affairs in the America of 2013. Like our more familiar founders (Washington, Adams, Hamilton, Jefferson), he was a practical idealist, a man who could articulate an ideal but knew that human progress, while sometimes intoxicatingly rapid, tends to be a provisional enterprise. The march, he said that day in Washington, was not an end; it was but a beginning. We live in a world King helped create. We do not yet live in the world he helped all of us dream of.

It is tempting to romanticize the words King spoke before the Lincoln Memorial. To do so, however, cheapens the courage of the known and the unknown nonviolent soldiers of freedom who faced—and often paid—the ultimate price for daring America to live up to the implications of the Declaration of Independence and become a country in which liberty was innate and universal,

not particular to station, creed or color. The true honor we can give to King and his comrades is not to render them as fantastical figures in a Manichaean struggle but to see them as human beings who summoned the will to make the rest of us be the people we ought to be.

The death of Jim Crow is an epic story, but it is no fairy tale, for the half-century since the March on Washington has surely taught us that while African Americans are largely living happier lives, no one can sensibly say that everyone is living happily ever after. The dream of which King spoke was less a dream to bring about on this side of paradise than a prophetic vision to be approximated, for King's understanding of equality and brotherhood was much likelier to be realized in the kingdom of God than in any mortal realm. In Washington to demand legislative action, King spoke as a minister of the Lord, invoking the meaning of the Sermon on the Mount in a city more often interested in the mechanics of the Senate.

However unreachable King's dream seems to be on this side of paradise, though, we must try. Like the promises of the Declaration of Independence or the

Gettysburg Address or FDR's First Inaugural ("The only thing we have to fear is fear itself"), the promises of King's "I Have a Dream" sermon can be kept only if the nation is mindful of what Lincoln called "the better angels of our nature." In his words to the March on Washington, Martin Luther King Jr. gave us a standard against which we could forever measure ourselves and our nation. So long as his dream proves elusive, then our union remains imperfect.

## A WEDNESDAY IN WASHINGTON

WHITE WASHINGTON HAD EXPECTED mayhem. Few bureaucrats or lawyers who worked downtown in the capital showed up for work on Wednesday, Aug. 28, 1963. That many blacks? In one place? Who knew what might happen? Even the ordinarily liberal New York *Times* was wary. "There was great fear there would be rioting," recalled the *Times*' Russell Baker, who was assigned a front-page feature on the march, "so the *Times* chartered a chopper." Boarding the helicopter early in the day, Baker grew so bored by the peaceable spectacle that he asked the pilot to fly over his house so he could check on the condition

of his roof. "Finally," said Baker, "I had him land at National Airport and went to the Lincoln Memorial."

It was, it turned out, not only orderly but also integrated. Baker wrote of Bob Dylan, Charlton Heston and Marlon Brando; the paper took note of the series of speeches and songs, including Jackson's "I Been 'Buked and I Been Scorned," a spiritual delivered with such power that Baker reported Jackson's voice seemed to echo off the far-off Capitol. Speaker after speaker—the young John Lewis, the aged A. Philip Randolph—made the case for racial justice. "For many, the day seemed an adventure, a long outing in the late summer sun—part liberation from home, part Sunday School picnic, part political convention, and part fish-fry," James Reston wrote in his piece for the *Times* the next day.

Watching King's speech in the White House, Kennedy listened with appreciation, then readied for a meeting with the march's leadership to discuss the practical steps ahead to push legislation through a Congress still dominated by white-segregationist Democrats. The ensuing session did not produce much in the way of progress. Kennedy feared moving too quickly, and as they had said again and again all afternoon, the civil rights delegation from the Mall believed the time for action was at hand. Yet King, who craved forward motion, had spoken of delay and of dreams deferred. The pilgrimage would be long, he had told his listeners, and the pilgrims had to maintain the moral high ground they had so effectively claimed through nonviolence. "And that is something that I must say to my people who stand on the worn threshold which leads into the palace of justice," King had told the crowd. "In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds... We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline." If the politicians were too slow, well, that meant there had to be yet more dignity and yet more discipline.

The *Times*' Reston, a reliable barometer of Establishment opinion, however, believed the day had in fact accomplished something, even if JFK was less than enthusiastic late that afternoon. "The demonstration impressed political Wash-



BEACON LIGHT KING AT HOME WITH HIS FAMILY IN NOVEMBER 1964, A FEW WEEKS AFTER WINNING THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

ington because it combined a number of things no politician can ignore," wrote Reston. "It had the force of numbers. It had the melodies of both the church and the theater. And it was able to invoke the principles of the founding fathers to rebuke the inequalities and hypocrisies of modern American life."

#### FREEDOM—SORT OF—AT LAST

KENNEDY HAD NOT MET WITH KING and his comrades alone on the afternoon of Aug. 28. In the President's party was his generally unhappy Vice President, Lyndon Johnson.

It's a tragic irony of American history that a people enslaved by white men finally became equal before the law not because of the nonviolent courage of millions of people of color but because of the murder of a single white man. The horror of the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Ala., on Sept. 15, 1963—an attack executed by Klansmen that killed four young girls—loomed large in the national consciousness, particularly when the violence of the crime was contrasted with the nonviolence of the March on Washington. Yet there is no escaping the fact that the moral case King made



before the nation in August 1963 was given legislative force only after the assassination of Kennedy in Dallas three months later elevated Johnson to the presidency. The passage of the landmark bills of 1964 and 1965 was possible because LBJ was determined—but a determined realist. “Even if we pass this bill, the battle will not be over,” he said after Selma in March 1965 as he proposed voting-rights legislation.

It would, though, be a battle won. From the *Brown* school-desegregation decisions in 1954 and 1955 through the Great Society bills of the mid-1960s, Jim Crow was fatally wounded—so much

so that the phrase is now anachronistic. Long-term research cited by Stanford’s Gavin Wright shows that educational integration in the South has produced positive economic results for African Americans, including increases in “graduation rates, test scores, earnings and adult health status, while reducing the probability of incarceration.”

That’s the good news. “One generation removed from the civil rights movement, we went from a country where a majority of the people believe in racial hierarchy, believed in the idea that there was one type of person who was fully deserving of citizenship, to a country where a majority of people reject that idea,” says Sheryll Cashin, a Georgetown law professor and former clerk for Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall. “Because of the civil rights movement, we became a country where a majority of people really embrace the idea of equality as an American ideal. It’s seen as un-American to be discriminatory or racist. That’s a major achievement, despite the fact that we still have inequality.”

### A LEGACY AT RISK

IN A NEW REPORT, THE NATIONAL URBAN League is using the mark of 50 years since the march to measure the state of black America. In terms of education, the league notes that the high school completion gap has closed by 57 points, the number of African Americans in college has tripled, and there are now five college graduates for every one in 1963. When it comes to standards of living, the percentage of African Americans living in poverty has fallen 23 points (the figure for black children is 22%), and homeownership among blacks has increased 14%.

Then there are the all-too-familiar failures. “In the past 50 years,” the Urban League reports, “the black-white income gap has only closed by 7 points (now at 60%). The unemployment-rate gap has only closed by 6 points (now at 52%).” (Only at 100% will the gap have disappeared.) Overall, the racial unemployment ratio is unchanged since 1963, at “about 2-to-1—regardless of

education, gender, region of the country or income level.” These numbers, as well as enduring inequalities in the criminal-justice system and the recent Supreme Court ruling on voting rights, suggest that neither the march nor the movement is really done.

The end of Jim Crow did not mark the beginning of what John Lewis, since 1986 a Congressman from Atlanta, calls “the beloved community”—a philosophical ideal of a world that transcends racial, ethnic, economic and gender barriers and is suffused by love. “Citizenship and equality are broader conceptions” than civil rights alone, says Darrell Miller, a professor at Duke Law School. “The civil rights movement was about ending segregation but also about being able to enjoy the fruits of being an equal citizen in all aspects of life, both public and private.”

On that August Wednesday, on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial—the spot on which he stood is marked there now, a sacred slab hidden in plain sight in the middle of the capital of the most powerful nation the world has ever known—King drew from Scripture as he joined the ranks of the founders. In the beginning of the Republic, men dreamed big but failed to include everyone in that dream, limiting liberty largely to white men. Speaking in 1963, King brilliantly argued for the expansion of the founders’ vision—nothing more, but surely nothing less. In doing so, a preacher from the South summoned a nation to justice and won his place in the American pantheon. “I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and every mountain shall be made low. The rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight. And the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.” He paused, then pressed on: “This is our hope. This is the faith that I will go back to the South with. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope.” Transforming that hope into history remains the work at hand, this August and always.

—WITH REPORTING BY MAYA RHODAN ■



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**JOHN**

U.S. CONGRESSMAN AND ONE OF THE CHIEF

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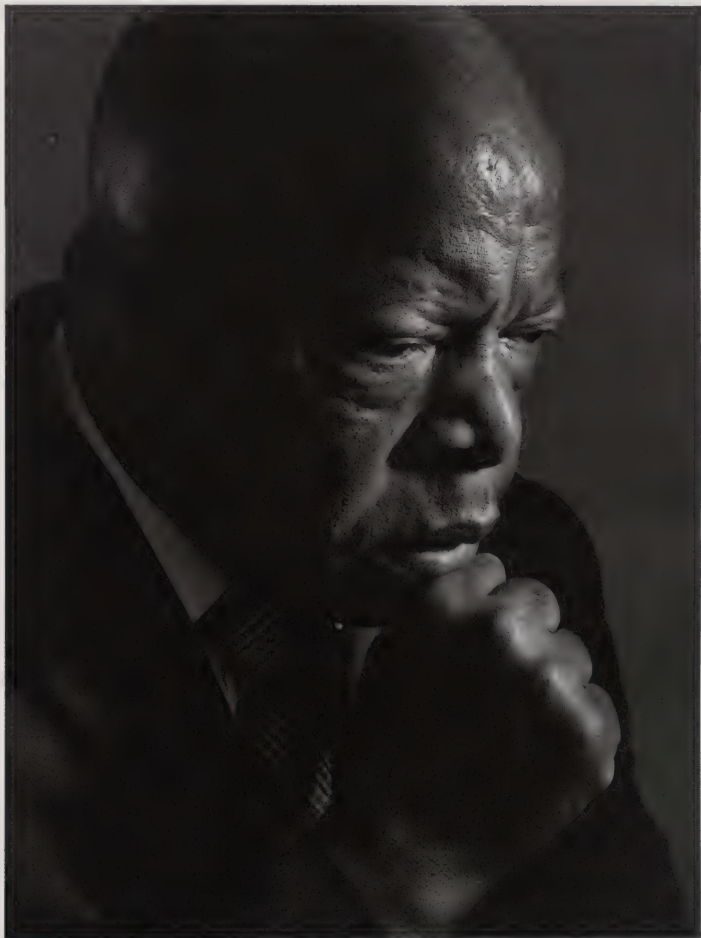
LEWIS

ORGANIZERS OF THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON

# ONE MARCH.

They planned and organized, led and inspired. From Harry Belafonte and Joan Baez to John Lewis and Julian Bond, 17 participants in the March on Washington recall that historic day

**INTERVIEWS BY KATE PICKERT. PHOTOGRAPHS BY MARCO GROB**



**JOHN LEWIS** 'I GREW UP HEARING DR. KING. THE FIRST TIME I HEARD HIS VOICE, I WAS 15 YEARS OLD.'

**HARRY BELAFONTE***Singer and activist*

At the end of the Second World War, those of us who had participated in that conflict were under the impression that if we were triumphant over fascism and the Nazis, the men and women who returned from that conflict would be celebrated and honored by our nation. Many of us went off to that war and didn't have the right to vote. Many of us went off to that war and didn't have the right to participate in the American Dream. We didn't really think about this thing as a dream until Dr. King articulated it.

**HANK THOMAS***Freedom Rider*

We did not see this as simply a civil rights issue. It was a human rights issue. We were then beginning to connect our struggle with the struggles of people all over the world and especially the struggles in Africa, and it took some people a little bit aback that we would say we are fighting for our freedom. Because as far as most Americans were concerned—most white Americans—how can you connect segregation here with the totalitarianism and the dictatorships of Europe? To me it was the same thing. And we were saying to the world, This land of great opportunity, this land of liberty has an asterisk beside it. It is a land of freedom for everybody else except black people. This Great March on Washington was our way of calling attention to it.

**BELAFONTE:** As a kid, there was not much I could aspire to, because the achievement of black people in spaces of power and rule and governance was not that evident, and therefore we were diminished in the way we thought we could access power and be part of the American fabric. We who came back from this war having expectations and finding that there were none to be harvested were put upon to make a decision. We could accept the status quo as it was beginning to reveal itself with these oppressive laws still in place. Or, as had begun to appear on the horizon, stimulated by something



TO HEAR MORE ABOUT THE MARCH,  
THE SPEECH AND THE LEGACY, VISIT  
[time.com/onedream](http://time.com/onedream)

Mahatma Gandhi of India had done, we could start this quest for social change by confronting the state a little differently. Let's do it nonviolently, let's use passive thinking applied to aggressive ideas, and perhaps we could overthrow the oppression by making it morally unacceptable.

**RACHELLE HOROWITZ***March on Washington transportation director*

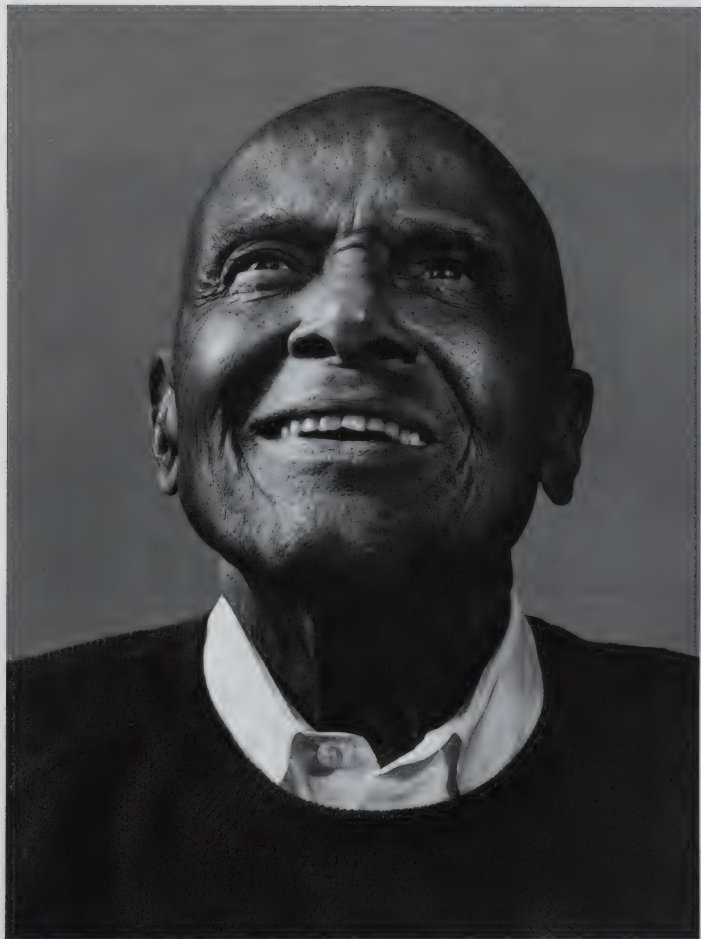
A. Philip Randolph, the leader of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the dean of civil rights leaders, had initially called for a march in 1941. He postponed that march because Franklin Roosevelt gave him partially what he wanted in an Executive Order. Randolph never stopped dreaming and knowing that he had to have one.

**BOB ZELLNER***Field secretary, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee*

The feeling was that after 1961 and '62—those really tremendous years of a lot of action, starting in Greensboro, North Carolina, with the lunch-counter sit-ins, followed the next spring by the Freedom Rides—it was really kicking the movement into a new gear beyond the more passive but tremendously courageous boycott of the buses in Montgomery. It was a new phase of the movement. And there was a feeling that we would not be able to break Mississippi. We would not be able to break the Deep South. That March on Washington in '63 was to be the culmination of all of this intense organizing and bring the country to a realization that it has to not be a regional battle. It has to not be a young people's battle. It really has to be a moral crusade for the country.

**HOROWITZ:** Bayard Rustin was a civil rights activist who had played an instrumental role in developing the whole concept of nonviolence as protest action. He himself had been arrested about 20 times. He believed very deeply in something that A. Philip Randolph also

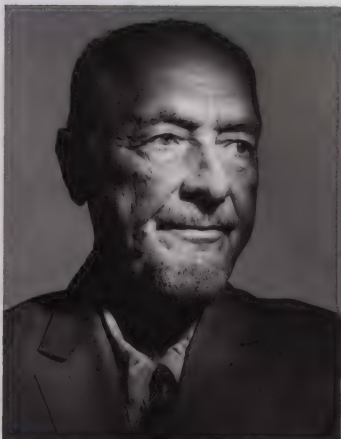




HARRY BELAFONTE 'FOR US, EACH STEP OF THE WAY WAS A STRUGGLE WITH IDENTITY.'



RACHELLE HOROWITZ 'I WAS ABOUT 16 YEARS OLD WHEN EMMETT TILL WAS LYNCHED.'



BOB ZELLNER 'MY FATHER WAS IN THE KLAN, AND MY GRANDFATHER WAS IN THE KLAN.'

believed in, and that is that the struggle for freedom in the United States had to eventually move to Washington, D.C., that it had to move to the center of power, to where the President and the Congress were—that no matter how many demonstrations took place in Montgomery and in Birmingham and places all around the South, until you could change the central government and have it legislate for all of the country, significant things wouldn't happen.

Randolph's contribution to the civil rights movement was a belief in mass action. Bayard added an organizer's ability, a concept of the strategy of mass action and also of nonviolence. He had a mind that went to every aspect of organization. No aspect of organizing was too small, and nothing was too large. He would

**'THERE WAS A  
FEELING THAT WE  
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ABLE TO BREAK  
THE DEEP SOUTH.'**

**BOB ZELLNER**

FIELD SECRETARY • STUDENT NONVIOLENT  
COORDINATION COMMITTEE

worry about the kinds of sandwiches that would be there, the nature of the sound system, how one dealt with the President of the United States.

**JOHN LEWIS**

*Chairman, Student Nonviolent  
Coordinating Committee, 1963–66;  
U.S. Representative from Georgia*

I remember so well the first meeting that we had with President Kennedy in the Oval Office of the White House. We told him we were going to have a march on Washington, and you could tell by the body language of the President, he didn't like the idea of a march on Washington. He said, in effect, If you bring all these people to Washington, won't there be violence and chaos and disorder?

“We have made progress. The fact that we can do things our parents couldn't and that their parents couldn't is undeniable. But don't use it as an excuse to stop the move toward progress...use it to inspire.”

*- Al Sharpton*

**LEAN FORWARD**

REV. AL SHARPTON, MSNBC HOST



**msnbc**

**CLAYTON:** The conversation that I had with the White House and with the Justice Department was to say, Look, you know, this will not erupt into violence regardless of what J. Edgar Hoover and others say they see in our mix. We have a very solid group of citizens here. And part of that image was that the most trusted of our citizens, the most highly profiled, the most revered as celebrity will be there. So you'll have Burt Lancaster, and you'll have Paul Newman, and you'll have Marlon Brando and

people like James Baldwin and other writers, and Lena Horne.

**HOROWITZ:** At the beginning of the march, when it was in its planning stage, Bayard started to get a series of letters from people who were friends of civil rights—Senators. The letters all had the same theme. They went, "Dear Bayard, We really think that passage of the civil rights bill is the most important thing. We have supported the struggle for freedom. But

have you considered the difficulties of having a march on Washington? Will there be enough toilets for the people there? Will there be enough water fountains?" Bayard eventually called them latrine letters. And while we laughed about them, he took them seriously. So we rented toilets, and we rented fountains so that people could drink water.

#### DORIS DERBY

*Volunteer, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee*

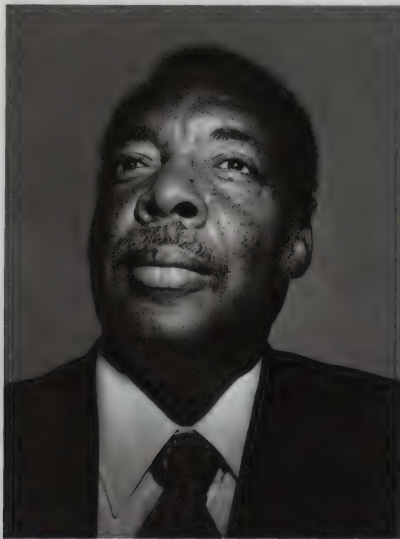
Our committee met every week, and we said, O.K., what do we need to move this really large group of people from all over, to bring them in? We needed public relations. We needed to have a medical corps of nurses and doctors on hand. We needed to have porta potties, arrange transportation. Once we had charter buses, regular buses coming in—what's going to happen to those? Where are people going to park?

**HOROWITZ:** It was a massive amount of phone calling, getting cards ready to be mailed, negotiations with various bus companies. Then we turned to trains and airplanes. Eventually we tried to charter everything that was charterable. We tried very much to help those people who were coming long distances to get trains for them. We actually had to raise a lot of money for that, because it was expensive and it was a Wednesday. It meant people had to take a day off from work. So we did a lot of fundraising. And we had what we called Freedom Trains from the South, which involved some negotiations with the Southern Railway.

#### ROBERT AVERY

*March on Washington volunteer*

I just turned 15 at the time, and there were a lot of things that were going on, of course, in the South, with demonstrations and the marches and picketing. But there was this great march they kept talking about that was going to happen in D.C., and myself and two other guys, we were sitting there talking about it, and we



HANK THOMAS "I WAS ONE OF THE ORIGINAL FREEDOM RIDERS."

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plug prius  
prius plug-in



prius family



Let's  
Go  
Places

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**DORIS DERBY** 'I WAS A MEMBER OF THE NAACP YOUTH CHAPTER WHEN I WAS 16.'

wanted to go. But of course we didn't have the money to catch the bus. So one of the guys said, Well, let's hitchhike. I looked at the other guy, and I said, Oh, yeah, that's great, let's do that—because we thought he was just talking, and the more we talked, we realized he was serious.

**DELAPOINTE:** We had Broadway shutting down, and we had large delegations of artists and celebrities coming from New York and from Boston and other places. It

was not just in the world of cinema and theater. We had a lot of musical artists and record artists.

**HOROWITZ:** It is also a mark of Bayard's commitment to nonviolence and his organizing ability that at some point he realized that New York City policemen were required to carry their guns 24 hours a day. He said, Nobody is bringing a gun to this march. And he went to see Mayor Wagner or whoever the police

authority was, and for that one day, New York City policemen were allowed to leave their guns home. The Justice Department also offered him the Army, the police, anything he wanted. And he said, No, if you want to do anything here, keep your troops on the periphery of the crowd and keep them watching for counterdemonstrators. We will monitor ourselves. You worry about provocateurs, racists, Klan members.

## **JULIAN BOND**

*Co-founder, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee*

The city of Washington almost went crazy. They canceled all elective surgery. They put surgeons and doctors on full time, waiting for something had to happen. They put policemen on 18-hour shifts. They just went out of the way to prepare for what they thought would be some kind of massive riot. They couldn't imagine this many black people coming together without some awful, awful disturbance in the streets.

**HOROWITZ:** Somebody at the National Council or the Red Cross said that the sandwiches had to be peanut butter and jelly. And Bayard came back to a staff meeting, and he said, O.K., we're writing this manual, and we have to tell people to bring peanut-butter-and-jelly sandwiches, no mayonnaise. Somebody said, But Bayard— And he said, This is not debatable! It became this sine qua non. Clearly what everybody was worried about was that you didn't want egg salad and mayonnaise spoiling on the road and people getting sick.

**AVERY:** We were there a week ahead of time, so they put us to work. Our job was to put together those signs. All of those signs that you see in the film clips—it was our job to staple them and put them together, then take them over to the parade grounds and unload them. I would imagine I probably touched every last one of those signs in some fashion or form. We probably put together, I don't



# IT ALL STARTS WITH A DREAM

**50**  
YEARS  
OF THE HOME  
DEPOT

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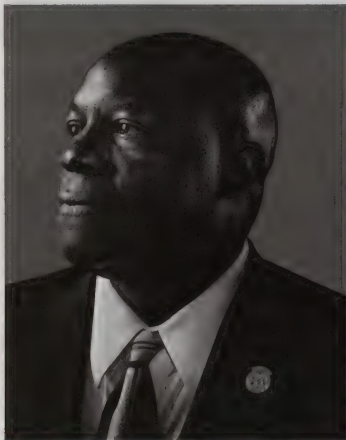


THE HOLLYWOOD DELEGATION EN ROUTE TO THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL FIRST ROW, FROM LEFT: CHARLTON HESTON, JULIE ROBINSON AND HARRY BELAFONTE. SECOND ROW: JAMES GARNER, DIAHANN

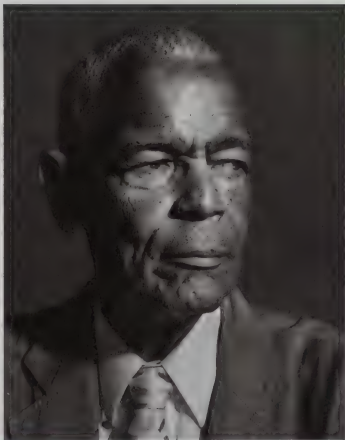


CARROLL, PAUL NEWMAN. THIRD ROW: ANTHONY FRANCIOSA, MARLON BRANDO

PHOTOGRAPH © DAN BUDNIK-CONTACT PRESS IMAGES



ROBERT AVERY 'I HITCHHIKED FROM GASTON, ALA., TO WASHINGTON, D.C.'



JULIAN BOND 'OUR PARENTS, OF COURSE, SAID, DON'T GET ARRESTED, DON'T GO TO JAIL.'

know, 10,000 or more before we got to the parade ground. And of course, that morning people started coming in, and those signs were gone in a few minutes, and we had to get to work again putting more signs together.

**BELAFONTE:** In my instruction to my fellow artists when we met several times discussing strategy for what to do, I said, The more we can find ourselves in the heart of the people gathered at the event, the more we are seen and identified with the everyday citizen, the more we are all linking arms together, not just celebrity to celebrity but a truck driver, a dentist or a housewife, and we're all linking arms together, the more powerful that imagery becomes. My task was to make sure that

we salt-and-peppered the afternoon into the early evening to look that way.

**THOMAS:** We were there to guide people, tell them where to go, what were the gathering points for the march, because obviously the vast majority of people had never been in D.C. before. So we had to direct them. A very large percentage of them came by bus, but there were other people who drove their automobiles. It was a question of showing them where to go in, how to get to the reflecting pool, into the Lincoln Memorial and to be of assistance to them in case we'd have any medical emergencies. That was primarily my job and the job of the marshals. We all owned distinctive armbands so people knew who we were.

I think it was about 7 o'clock that morning when we took our stations, and we didn't see anybody, and then within the next hour, people started pouring in, and it was just a wonderful sight.

**AVERY:** I don't really think they expected that many people. The word around the office was, when we were putting the signs together, If you get 35,000 or so, you're going to be O.K.

**LEWIS:** We came across Constitution Avenue, coming from the Senate side going down to the bottom of the hill, and we looked toward Union Station. There was a sea of humanity coming from Union Station, and the people were already



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- Do not stop taking ELIQUIS without talking to the doctor who prescribed it for you. Stopping ELIQUIS increases your risk of having a stroke. ELIQUIS may need to be stopped, prior to surgery or a medical or dental procedure. Your doctor will tell you when you should stop taking ELIQUIS and when you may start taking it again. If you have to stop taking ELIQUIS, your doctor may prescribe another medicine to help prevent a blood clot from forming.

- ELIQUIS can cause bleeding which can be serious, and rarely may lead to death. This is because ELIQUIS is a blood thinner medicine that reduces blood clotting.

- You may have a higher risk of bleeding if you take ELIQUIS and take other medicines that increase your risk of bleeding, such as aspirin, NSAIDs, warfarin (COUMADIN®), heparin, SSRIs or SNRIs, and other blood thinners. Tell your doctor about all medicines, vitamins and supplements you take. While taking ELIQUIS, you may bruise more easily and it may take longer than usual for any bleeding to stop.

- Get medical help right away if you have any of these signs or symptoms of bleeding:

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- bleeding that is severe or you cannot control
- red, pink, or brown urine; red or black stools (looks like tar)
- coughing up or vomiting blood or vomit that looks like coffee grounds
- unexpected pain, swelling, or joint pain;
- headaches, feeling dizzy or weak

- ELIQUIS is not for patients with artificial heart valves.
- Do not take ELIQUIS if you currently have certain types of abnormal bleeding or have had a serious allergic reaction to ELIQUIS.
- Before you take ELIQUIS, tell your doctor if you have: kidney or liver problems, any other medical condition, or ever had bleeding problems. Tell your doctor if you are pregnant or breastfeeding, or plan to become pregnant or breastfeed.
- Take ELIQUIS exactly as prescribed by your doctor and refill your prescription before you run out.
- Possible serious side effects include bleeding or a reaction to ELIQUIS itself. A reaction to ELIQUIS can cause hives, rash, itching, and possibly trouble breathing. Get medical help right away if you have sudden chest pain or chest tightness, have sudden swelling of your face or tongue, have trouble breathing, wheezing, or feeling dizzy or faint.

You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit [www.fda.gov/medwatch](http://www.fda.gov/medwatch), or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

Please see additional Important Product Information on the adjacent page.

Visit [ELIQUIS.COM](http://ELIQUIS.COM) or call 1-855-ELIQUIS

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# IMPORTANT FACTS

**Eliquis®** / **Rx ONLY**  
(apixaban) tablets

The information below does not take the place of talking with your healthcare professional. Only your healthcare professional knows the specifics of your condition and how ELIQUIS® may fit into your overall therapy. Talk to your healthcare professional if you have any questions about ELIQUIS (pronounced ELL eh kwiss).

## What is the most important information I should know about ELIQUIS (apixaban)?

**Do not stop taking ELIQUIS without talking to the doctor who prescribed it for you. Stopping ELIQUIS increases your risk of having a stroke.** ELIQUIS may need to be stopped, prior to surgery or a medical or dental procedure. Your doctor will tell you when you should stop taking ELIQUIS and when you may start taking it again. If you have to stop taking ELIQUIS, your doctor may prescribe another medicine to help prevent a blood clot from forming.

**ELIQUIS can cause bleeding** which can be serious, and rarely may lead to death. This is because ELIQUIS is a blood thinner medicine that reduces blood clotting.

**You may have a higher risk of bleeding if you take ELIQUIS** and take other medicines that increase your risk of bleeding, such as aspirin, nonsteroidal anti-inflammatory drugs (called NSAIDs), warfarin (COUMADIN®), heparin, selective serotonin reuptake inhibitors (SSRIs) or serotonin norepinephrine reuptake inhibitors (SNRIs), and other medicines to help prevent or treat blood clots.

Tell your doctor if you take any of these medicines. Ask your doctor or pharmacist if you are not sure if your medicine is one listed above.

## While taking ELIQUIS:

- you may bruise more easily
- it may take longer than usual for any bleeding to stop

## Call your doctor or get medical help right away if you have any of these signs or symptoms of bleeding when taking ELIQUIS:

- unexpected bleeding, or bleeding that lasts a long time, such as:
  - unusual bleeding from the gums
  - nosebleeds that happen often
  - menstrual bleeding or vaginal bleeding that is heavier than normal
- bleeding that is severe or you cannot control
- red, pink, or brown urine
- red or black stools (looks like tar)
- cough up blood or blood clots

- vomit blood or your vomit looks like coffee grounds
- unexpected pain, swelling, or joint pain
- headaches, feeling dizzy or weak

**ELIQUIS (apixaban) is not for patients with artificial heart valves.**

## What is ELIQUIS?

ELIQUIS is a prescription medicine used to reduce the risk of stroke and blood clots in people who have atrial fibrillation.

It is not known if ELIQUIS is safe and effective in children.

## Who should not take ELIQUIS?

**Do not take ELIQUIS if you:**

- currently have certain types of abnormal bleeding
- have had a serious allergic reaction to ELIQUIS. Ask your doctor if you are not sure

## What should I tell my doctor before taking ELIQUIS?

**Before you take ELIQUIS, tell your doctor if you:**

- have kidney or liver problems
- have any other medical condition
- have ever had bleeding problems
- are pregnant or plan to become pregnant. It is not known if ELIQUIS will harm your unborn baby
- are breastfeeding or plan to breastfeed. It is not known if ELIQUIS passes into your breast milk. You and your doctor should decide if you will take ELIQUIS or breastfeed. You should not do both

Tell all of your doctors and dentists that you are taking ELIQUIS. They should talk to the doctor who prescribed ELIQUIS for you, before you have any surgery, medical or dental procedure.

**Tell your doctor about all the medicines you take, including prescription and over-the-counter medicines, vitamins, and herbal supplements.** Some of your other medicines may affect the way ELIQUIS works. Certain medicines may increase your risk of bleeding or stroke when taken with ELIQUIS.

## How should I take ELIQUIS (apixaban)?

**Take ELIQUIS exactly as prescribed by your doctor.** Take ELIQUIS twice every day with or without food, and do not change your dose or stop taking it unless your doctor tells you to. If you miss a dose of ELIQUIS, take it as soon as you remember, and do not take more than one dose at the same time. **Do not run out of ELIQUIS. Refill your prescription before you run out. Stopping ELIQUIS may increase your risk of having a stroke.**

## What are the possible side effects of ELIQUIS?

- See **"What is the most important information I should know about ELIQUIS?"**
- ELIQUIS can cause a skin rash or severe allergic reaction. Call your doctor or get medical help right away if you have any of the following symptoms:
  - chest pain or tightness
  - swelling of your face or tongue
  - trouble breathing or wheezing
  - feeling dizzy or faint

Tell your doctor if you have any side effect that bothers you or that does not go away.

These are not all of the possible side effects of ELIQUIS. For more information, ask your doctor or pharmacist.

Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

This is a brief summary of the most important information about ELIQUIS. For more information, talk with your doctor or pharmacist, call 1-855-ELIQUIS (1-855-354-7847), or go to [www.ELIQUIS.com](http://www.ELIQUIS.com).

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**NAN ORROCK** 'I'M THE PRODUCT OF PARENTS FROM THE DEEP SOUTH. I WENT TO SEGREGATED SCHOOLS.'

marching, and it was like saying, There go my people. Let me catch up with them.

front of what was really not the front of the line, just so they could lead it.

**HARROWITZ:** The chairmen were up on Capitol Hill meeting with the leaders of the House and Senate, and people at the Washington Monument had decided they were ready to go to the Lincoln Memorial. They formed lines, and they began to march, singing, and an orderly march began spontaneously to the Lincoln Memorial so that by the time the march chairmen came, somebody had to stop the march, and they had to be put in

#### **NAN ORROCK**

*March on Washington attendee;  
Georgia state senator*

It was an incredible experience being in a gathering of that size. It just felt like we were part of a glacier moving down the avenue.

**AVORY:** I became a participant like everybody else once the march started. Hey, if

you need a sign, you've got to go put your own sign together—we're gone.

**LEWIS:** You saw signs from all over America: political signs, religious signs. People representing different faiths. Churches from the heart of the Midwest, the far West. People coming from all over the country to bear witness, to participate. Many of the people were well dressed. It was like going to church or temple or synagogue. People then, when they went out for a protest, they dressed up.

**BOND:** The interracial nature of the crowd is remarkable. You look at these pictures, and you see this is not a black crowd. This is black and white people. This is Americans saying, I don't like segregation. I want it to stop.

#### **RACHEL ROBINSON**

*Widow of Jackie Robinson; founder of the Jackie Robinson Foundation*

The spirit in the whole setting was so exciting, so positive, so hopeful that something was going to happen. We felt very enthusiastic about everything. We were happy to wait and find a seat, and delighted when we found a seat up front so we could see the procedure and we could hear the speeches. It turned out to be an extraordinary experience for all of us—for the children and for Jack and I—because we had never worked on anything of that magnitude or seen that kind of support for equal opportunities, which is what we had been hoping for for many years.

**LEWIS:** I was 23 years old at the time. I remember A. Philip Randolph introduced me as he had introduced others. He stood and said, "I now present to you young John Lewis, the national chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee." I stood up, and I said to myself, "This is it. I looked to my right: I saw hundreds and thousands of young people, many of the young volunteers

A man is seen from behind, standing in a bathroom and looking into a mirror. He is shirtless and wearing grey athletic shorts, applying shaving foam to his face with a razor. In the mirror's reflection, a woman in a white bathrobe is smiling and watching him. The scene is set in a modern bathroom with a white sink and various toiletries on the counter.

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JOAN BAEZ 'SPEAK TRUTH TO POWER. IT'S A QUAKER EXPRESSION. WE FELT THAT WE COULD DO THAT, AND YOU KNOW, WE STILL CAN.'



**RACHEL ROBINSON** 'THE LESSON IS NOT TO STOP, NOT TO GIVE UP, NOT TO BELIEVE THAT THIS IS A POSTRACIST PERIOD. I DON'T BUY THAT NOTION.'

of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. I looked to my left, and I saw many young people, young men, in the trees trying to get a better view of the podium. I looked straight out. And I started speaking.

It was an unbelievable feeling to see hundreds and thousands of people, black and white, sitting together, cheering. Many young people, men, women, they're taking off their shoes and putting their feet into the water to cool off. It was a hot day. It was very hot in Washington on Aug. 28, 1963.

# JOAN BAEZ

*Singer and activist*

I remember it was hot. I remember what I was wearing. I remember singing. And I remember that ocean of people. I'd never seen anything like that. I remember the electricity in the air.

# PETER YARROW

*Singer and activist*

We sang "If I Had a Hammer." They knew it, and they sang. And the moment was created not by the three of us in a

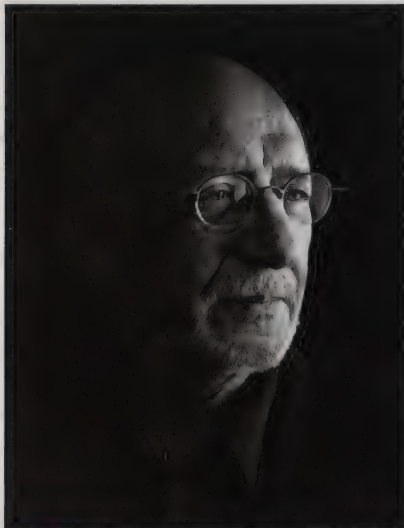
performance but by a quarter of a million people gathering together and singing with us and saying, This moment belongs to us together. That's what singing together can do.

**BELAFONTE:** On the platform when these highly profiled, successful artists performed, it wasn't just that they were sympathetic and very much involved in the ideals of the struggle, it was that that's who they really were. They were artists, and they were superstars, and you could be both a powerfully received force and you can say the right thing. You can have a moral point of view.

**BOND:** I was giving Coca-Colas to the movie stars, and I can remember till my dying day giving a Coca-Cola to Sammy Davis Jr., and he said, Thanks, kid.

**YARROW:** *Joyful* doesn't really describe it for me. It was like the physicalization of love. It was ecstatic perhaps, but it was not giddy and silly or "let's have a good time." It was a far deeper kind of joy. It went beyond joy. It was hard to describe, but it was the antithesis of fear, and it propelled us all into another channel in our lives.

**ORROCK:** I was overwhelmed with the sense that I was in the presence of courage. So often you read about courage in books. To be face to face and side by side with people who had made profound decisions to put at risk their own personal safety, their job, their home, the ability to support their family to go up in the face of the police-state atmosphere of the Deep South in order to get change was an overwhelming thought to me—the raw courage of people, to face police jailing you and beating you to the ground for the right to vote. So that was an overwhelming thing. I was so moved to think of the courage that it took for the people I was marching with to do what they were doing with their lives in very dangerous places, breaking the color line.



PETER YARROW "MUSIC HAD BECOME THE SOUNDTRACK OF THE AMERICAN CONSCIENCE."

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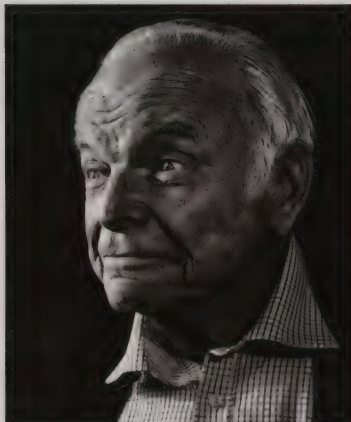
When did we become so anti-wrinkles? Wrinkles don't deserve that. They are earned. They are markings to distinguish who we should look up to. The lines speak of a life well lived. The crevices of a smile that have chosen to stick around. The grooves by the eyes that have faced many a sunny day. The lines don't lie. They are a lifetime of emotion. Wisdom. Experience. While society may see a flaw to fix, we see what you should embrace. It's just one of the many things that make you an amazingly, wonderfully unique creature. And being true to who you are is the first step in being truly healthy.

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**GO YOU**





**BOB ADELMAN** 'I FELT, THIS IS HISTORY, AND I SHOULD, AS BEST I CAN, RECORD IT.'



**MAXINE ALLEN JOHNSON WOOD** 'I COULD NOT BELIEVE THAT I HAD A CHANCE TO BE A PART OF IT.'

**THOMAS:** I was 21 years old, and I had this tremendous responsibility of helping to get this thing done. By the time the program started, I couldn't get as close to the Lincoln Memorial as I wanted to, because I had a job to do. Our job was to keep walking around, make sure there are no problems, because we knew of some of the things the FBI had done in the civil rights movement, putting in an agent or provocateurs.

#### **MAXINE ALLEN JOHNSON WOOD**

*March on Washington attendee*

Many of the speakers were people whose names were familiar, but you never would get the chance to see them. You're talking 50 years ago, so we didn't have the prominence of media. There wasn't any instant replay or quick exposure. So when you

**'I CAN REMEMBER  
TILL MY DYING  
DAY GIVING A  
COCA-COLA TO  
SAMMY DAVIS JR.'**

**JULIAN BOND**

CELEBRATING WASHINGTON-INSPIRED  
COORDINATING COMMITTEE

saw names like Harry Belafonte—he was listed as one of those speakers—or you saw the names of the civil rights leaders, and there were many of them who spoke before Martin Luther King, you were proud to be there and glad to be there.

#### **MARCUS GARVEY WOOD**

*Seminary classmate of King's*

I just felt for King as he sat there waiting to be introduced. I knew that the way they listened to people who were making speeches in rallies like this one, there was always somebody in the background trailing that speech with printed material. And I knew that somebody had a pencil following every word to see whether King would make a mistake or not repeat what he had placed there on paper. And I couldn't get to him to wink my eye or say



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**TURKISH  
AIRLINES**





**BAEZ AT THE PUCHUM, AUG. 28, 1963** 'I REMEMBER WHAT I WAS WEARING. I REMEMBER SINGING. AND I REMEMBER THAT OCEAN OF PEOPLE. I'D NEVER SEEN ANYTHING LIKE THAT.'



to him, "Mike"—as we called him during the days of seminary—"come on, come on, you can do it, you can do it, you can do it."

## CLARENCE B. JONES

*Speechwriter for King*

A lot of care and thought was given as to the kind of speech that he should give. We knew that people were coming from all over the country, and they were looking for political leadership. They were looking for direction, particularly after Birmingham. Black fury had broken out in 36 states and over 200 cities, and people were coming. So we felt that Dr. King's role was to give them political direction and moral reaffirmation of the validity of our struggle.

Now, among his advisers, there were those who were suggesting, as Ralph Abernathy would say, Martin, people are coming to the March on Washington because they're coming to hear you preach!

**MARCUS WOOD:** When we were in seminary together, King would walk around the hall preaching. He had more experience in preaching than some of us, although I was nine years older than he was and pastoring a small church in West Virginia. But when he became very popular, he called us together and said, You all must stick by me, for I am going to dismantle this society. And we would jokingly say to him, King, if you try to dismantle this society that we're in now, somebody's going to shoot you. Somebody's going to bring you down, because society is so ingrained with segregation. The culture has been born into segregation, and therefore it's not going to change.

**JONES:** I'm standing on the platform about 50 feet behind him, and he is introduced by A. Philip Randolph in this sonorous voice: "At this time, I have the honor to present to you the moral leader of our nation. I have the pleasure to present to you Dr. Martin Luther King Jr." The place goes crazy! I mean it's just like an explosion of approval. I'm looking at the audience as he's looking at them. Then as

he's speaking, Mahalia Jackson, who had performed earlier on the program and who was his favorite gospel singer, interrupted him: "Tell 'em about the dream, Martin. Tell 'em about the dream."

I'm watching him from the back. He takes the text of the speech that he was reading, and he moves it to the side of the lectern. And then he grabs both sides of the lectern, and I say to the person standing next to me—whoever that was—I said, These people don't know it, but they're about ready to go to church.

## BOB ADELMAN

*Photographer*

I think it's when he starts to talk about the dream that like the greatest jazz musician, he just does an incredible solo.

**BOND:** His ability to summon from his memory and deviate from his written text was just remarkable to me. I make speeches all the time. I can't do without a piece of paper in front of me. But he could just draw these ideas, draw these images, paint these pictures. It was just a remarkable performance. I've never seen anything as good as this ever, and I doubt if I ever will.

## JEROME SMITH

*Freedom Rider*

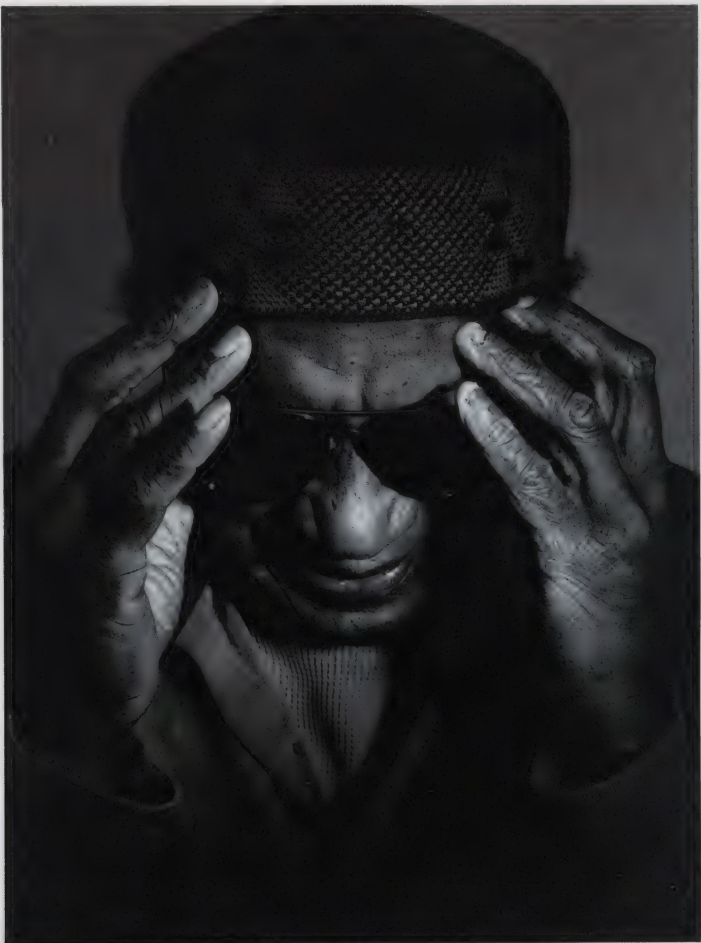
You know, at bottom, Dr. King is a musician. And if he was reciting the telephone book, the rhythms and transition to phrasing would bring you to an emotional acceptance.

**EVERY:** I get goose bumps when I think about it. He was at his best. That's all I can say. But in his talking, and my mind wandering back to what I had been through that summer, and when he started talking about his children, I felt like, Wow, he's talking about me. He's talking to me.

**ROBINSON:** We listened very carefully to the words as if they were almost like



From top: N.A.A.C.P. sign; "March on Washington For Jobs and Freedom" sign; "M" sign. Photo: [unclear] / [unclear]



**JEROME SMITH** 'IT WAS A PROCESSION OF CHURCH. IT WAS NEVER, EVER A MARCH. IT WAS A CONGREGATION THAT WAS ANSWERING THE CALL.'



instructions. We all wanted to do something, and we wanted to have goals that we were going to work toward. And the speech gave a lot of ideas in terms of that. It wasn't just a spiritual thing. It was also very informative and instructive. We were looking for leadership, and he was offering it.

**BOND:** What was really wonderful about the March on Washington is this is the first time most white people watching this on television had ever seen Dr. King

give a full speech. They'd heard snippets and pieces of his oratory, but he was such a wonderful speaker, and he made an argument for the rightness of black protest.

**HOROWITZ:** I think the biggest expenditure made was for the sound system. I remember Bayard being absolutely adamant that everybody on that Mall had to hear every minute of every speech. And it's sort of amazing to think about that now if you think that Dr. King gave that speech

without a Jumbotron—250,000 people in the trees down the Mall watched him and listened to him.

**MAXINE WOOD:** That "I have a dream"—to hear it, initially, was an important experience. To hear him give that message made you believe you did have a dream, and it was very inspiring. A lot of people probably had not focused on those possibilities. We live in realities, but the image that he gave was a future.

**JONES:** If you listen to the speech carefully—and this is important as we reflect now 50 years back—if you listen to the syntax of his reference to the dream, he does not speak in the present tense. He speaks in the future tense. He's speaking in his hope and belief in America. "I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character."

Future tense.


Dr. King's speech at the March on Washington was an affirmation of his prophetic belief that America had the capacity to be the best that it could be. The "I Have a Dream" speech was a summons, a call, to the collective conscience of America, that we can be better than this. We can be better than this!

**BAEZ:** There are some times when you know something is going to be historic. I was just at Woodstock—went back and revisited the place—and we knew that. And certainly by the time this few hundred thousand people had gathered, you knew that whatever it was you were going to say or do was going to be recorded as part of history.

**ADELMAN:** When I hear that speech—I mean this is what, 50 years later?—I still cry. It's so extraordinary, but when he finished speaking, I really had a profound sense that it was now almost inevitable. Such a force had been unleashed that history was moving. He had spoken



MARCUS GARVEY WOOD: "IT SEEMED TO ME THAT THE SPIRIT OF GOD CAME UPON HIM."



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in front of Lincoln's likeness, and I said, This is going to happen.

**SMITH:** It was a ritual—it was a procession of church. It was never, ever a march. It was a congregation that was answering the call.

**YARROW:** It changed the course of our lives. It gave us not only an internal sense of what we believed in being validated, but it gave us a sense of the community of commitment that was to change America. Not only in terms of African Americans, but to be able to say that ordinary human beings can gather together in large numbers, and if they gather together with heart and strength, they can change the course of history.

**ORROCK:** Think about this: The average white kid, to the degree they thought about it, we were taught all about democracy. You're taught all about what we stand for, one nation, and undivided, liberty and justice for all, all those words we'd been taught. But those words applied to the white people. And we would all chant them and cite them and read them and study them and hear them from our teachers and not face this enormous contradiction that this doesn't apply to everybody. Everybody's not equal. Everybody can't vote. Everybody can't get a job when they apply for one, can't live where they want to, doesn't have the same shot at raising a family with a future.

**BOND:** If the goal was to normalize the civil rights movement, then the goal was achieved. Not everybody in the country said, Oh, I understand. But many people then understood what they had not understood before, that black people were dissatisfied, that the segregation system they faced was untenable. It could not be maintained, and it had to be changed.

**BEAUFONTE:** In the end, the day was a complete win-win. The Kennedys heaved

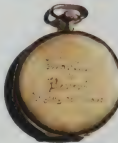
a huge sigh of relief that there was not one act of violence. And to see at the end everybody singing "We Shall Overcome" and all the arms linked—we've said it often, but it's worth saying as often as necessary: there wasn't a dry eye in the house. And it was all of America. All of it. You went through that crowd and you couldn't find any type missing, any gender, any race, any religion. It was America at its most transformative moment.

**AVERY:** The closing was—I couldn't believe it. I'd been there for a whole week, and we worked in the office, we'd done all these things, and now this great march—it was just unbelievable.

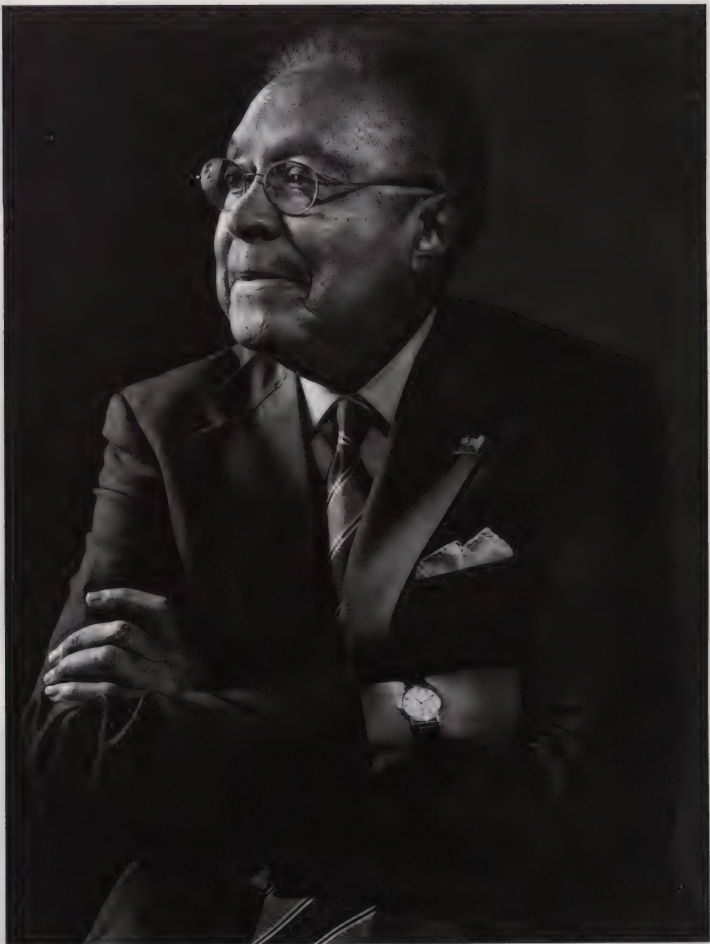
**THOMAS:** It brought our struggle to the attention of the world. That was the most important impact that I thought it had. But insofar as me personally? I was going to continue to work. It was a motivating factor, but it just added to the amount of motivation that I already had.

**ORROCK:** Years later, I got a very special letter from my mother. Years later—after I'd been very involved and a full-time civil rights worker and always talking to my mother about what needed to change and why I was doing this—she wrote me a letter that she was really proud that I had understood this long before she did and long before most people like us had understood it, and that I had stood with Dr. King and with the civil rights movement, and that I had done the right thing, and that she was very proud of me.

**LEWIS:** After Dr. King had spoken, we went back down to the White House. President Kennedy invited us back down, and he stood in the door to the Oval Office and greeted each one of us. He was like a proud beaming father that everything had gone so well. He said to each one of us as he shook our hand, You did a good job, you did a good job. And when he got to Dr. King, he said, And you had a dream.



From top, guitar played by Bayez at the march; pocket watch given to event organizer Bayan Rustin by King



CLARENCE B. JONES 'THIS COUNTRY OWES A DEBT TO MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. THAT CAN NEVER, EVER BE REPAYED.'

**'TELL 'EM  
THE DREAM  
TELL 'EM  
THE D**

**MAHALIA**

GOSPEL SINGER, TO MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. DU



I ABOUT  
M. MARTIN.  
I ABOUT  
REAM.'

**JACKSON**

RING HIS SPEECH AT THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON

# ONE SPEECH.

Casting aside his script, King reset every standard for political oratory. Presidents ever since have been trying to match his words, power and moral authority

**BY RICHARD NORTON SMITH**



**ON THEIR FEET** MIDWAY THROUGH HIS REMARKS, KING ABANDONED HIS TEXT. THE REACTION, ABOVE, WAS TUMULTUOUS

PHOTOGRAPH © TLP SCHULKE

ON AUG. 28, 1963, NO ONE FOLLOWED Martin Luther King Jr.'s oratorical tour de force more closely than the President of the United States. "He's damned good," murmured John F. Kennedy as King's triumphant image faded from the television screen. Left unmentioned was King's introduction on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial as "the moral leader of the nation."

But it must have stung so astute a student of presidential history as Kennedy. Sooner or later, fairly or not, every occupant of the Oval Office is judged by his use of the bully pulpit, invented by Theodore Roosevelt to shame purveyors of tainted meat, promote simplified spelling and trumpet the conservation of nature in opposition to a money lust recognizable to any viewer of CNBC's *American Greed*. Since then, a century's worth of richly symbolic gestures—from T.R.'s White House dinner invitation to Booker T. Washington, the first of his race to be so honored, to Barack Obama's painfully personal testimony about racial profiling in the wake of the Trayvon Martin verdict—have demonstrated a President's capacity to foster change through his moral advocacy.

Appearing briefly in the White House pressroom on July 19, Obama supplied the latest teachable moment in the nation's 400-year seminar on race. An obvious reluctance to let the issue define his presidency only lent added weight to Obama's comments. So did their juxtaposition against the 50th anniversary of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. To its organizers, the first great Washington protest of a transformative decade was as much about unfinished business as unkept promises. Movement veterans like A. Philip Randolph and Roy Wilkins had vivid memories of an even earlier demonstration scheduled for July 1, 1941, and aborted at



FREE AT LAST KING ON THE STEPS OF THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL AS THE SPEECH ENDS. BEHIND THE SCENES, ONE



PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S ADVANCE MEN STOOD READY TO PULL THE PLUG ON THE SOUND SYSTEM

PHOTOGRAPH © BOB ADelman



the last minute when FDR issued Executive Order 8802, which desegregated the nation's war industries and established a Fair Employment Practices Committee to monitor workplace discrimination.

The alternative—100,000 black protesters marching to the Lincoln Memorial—held scant appeal for a President whose congressional prospects rested with Southern Democrats committed to American apartheid. Reserving his powers of persuasion for the threat posed by fascist dictators in Europe and Asia, Roosevelt tossed the hand grenade of civil rights to his outspoken wife Eleanor. When the Daughters of the American Revolution denied the celebrated contralto Marian Anderson the use of Constitution Hall on account of her race, Mrs. Roosevelt resigned her membership in the group. She gave her blessing to local activists who were seeking a highly symbolic change of venue.

April 9, 1939, dawned cold and bluster in the nation's capital, though it didn't prevent a crowd of 75,000 dressed in their Easter finery from assembling before the Lincoln Memorial to hear Anderson's emotionally charged "My Country, 'Tis of Thee." Among the millions listening via radio was a 10-year-old preacher's son in Atlanta named Martin Luther King Jr. In a high school speaking competition he won several years later, King described the concert as "a new baptism of liberty, equality and fraternity." The same event redefined a monument whose mixed message reflected a national habit, where race was concerned, of editing the past to avoid discomforting the present. At its formal unveiling in 1922, former President William Howard Taft described Abraham Lincoln's Greek Doric temple as "a shrine at which all can worship."

Yet the throng to which he addressed those words was rigidly segregated. So was the history being commemorated. Tuskegee Institute president Robert R. Moton had his remarks edited lest he offend Lincoln's son, President Warren Harding and other dignitaries assembled to pay homage to the 16th President—for what? Architect Henry Bacon spelled it out in the memorial's epitaph: "In this

temple as in the hearts of the people for whom he saved the Union the memory of Abraham Lincoln is enshrined forever." To African Americans, however, starting with Frederick Douglass, preserving the Union took second place to ending slavery. Their Lincoln was found in the second Inaugural Address justifying the war, and over 600,000 related deaths, as divine retribution for the crime of human bondage.

#### 'A GREAT CHANGE IS AT HAND'

AFTER 1939, THE BROODING MAN OF MARBLE supplied a backdrop to both Presidents and protesters as they prodded the conscience of white America. In June 1947, Harry Truman became the first Chief Executive to appear before the NAACP when he addressed 10,000 of the group's members from the memorial's steps. That Truman—a product of small-town Missouri who was known to employ the *N* word in private conversation—should risk splitting his party by desegregating the armed forces and sending the first civil rights message to Congress since Reconstruction lent his actions a moral majesty consistent with Lincoln's outgrowing of the racist society that had produced him. That Tru-

## CIVIL RIGHTS WENT UNMENTIONED IN KENNEDY'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS, IN FAVOR OF COLD WAR DANGERS

man also embraced civil rights because he couldn't hope to win the 1948 election without black votes simply married pragmatism to principle.

Dwight Eisenhower's hidden-hand style of leadership avoided rhetorical flourishes. (He once grouched that if words alone defined a President's performance, Americans should elect Ernest Hemingway to the job.) Though accompanied by the requisite Oval Office address, his 1957 deployment of Army troops to escort nine black children into a formerly segregated high school in Little Rock, Ark., spoke for itself. Three years later, Kennedy's impromptu phone call to Coretta Scott King expressing concern over her husband's jailing for his part in an Atlanta protest may well have supplied Kennedy's razor-thin margin over Richard Nixon in their race for the White House. Yet civil rights went unmentioned in Kennedy's Inaugural Address, the new President giving priority to Cold War dangers much as FDR a generation earlier had stressed the threat from overseas.

To be sure, the Kennedy Administration sent federal marshals to protect Freedom Riders who challenged segregation on interstate transport. In 1962 a plainly frustrated JFK mobilized federal troops so that James Meredith could attend the University of Mississippi. As history accelerated in the first months of 1963, the charismatic young President was betrayed by television, the latter-day bully pulpit custom-tailored to his casual eloquence and ironic wit. Pictures, not words, aroused a nation's conscience that May. From the front pages of newspapers they spilled onto television screens by the millions: jaw-dropping images of black children in Birmingham, Ala., savaged by high-powered water hoses and police dogs answerable to commissioner of public safety Eugene "Bull" Connor.

At the White House, Kennedy said the pictures made him sick. He furtively lobbied Birmingham business executives to compromise with King and his Children's Crusade. When Alabama Governor George Wallace attempted on June 11 to keep two black students from enrolling at the University of Alabama in a confrontation staged for television,

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1 THUMB STABILIZER

3M

Kennedy's detachment crumbled. That night he went on the air with an improvised speech to rally support for a civil rights bill that had yet to be written. "A great change is at hand," the President told his audience, "and our task, our obligation, is to make that revolution, that change, peaceful and constructive for all. Those who do nothing are inviting shame, as well as violence. Those who act boldly are recognizing right, as well as reality."

In shedding the chrysalis of political calculation, Kennedy achieved his own profile in courage. Yet even then, fearing the impact on his re-election prospects, he initially held back from endorsing the proposed March on Washington. Armed with FBI wiretaps, he worried that King's entourage might include Communist sympathizers. Otherwise his concerns duplicated those voiced by FDR in the same office to the same organizers in the autumn of 1940. Why risk alienating potential supporters through tactics of intimidation? On the day of the march, John R. Lewis, the 23-year-old firebrand who was newly elected to lead the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, saw his text purged of language upsetting to the white audience by march leaders, much as Robert Moton had in consecrating Lincoln's shrine four decades earlier.

King's speech concluding the day's program quickly assumed legendary status. "I have a dream," JFK said, greeting King as he arrived for a postmarch meeting in the Oval Office. The immediate political payoff was more disappointing. Senator Hubert Humphrey lamented that the march had failed to convert a single colleague to support civil rights legislation. Three months later, Kennedy's assassination conjured memories of another martyred President, succeeded by another Southerner named Johnson, whose white-supremacist dogma had set back by a hundred years the cause of racial justice. Determined to validate his presidency born of tragedy, Lyndon Johnson would employ the bully pulpit with heroic disregard for the political consequences. "There goes the South for a generation," Johnson reportedly observed in signing the landmark 1964 Civil Rights Act. It was a rare instance of Johnsonian understatement.

## JOHNSON'S WORDS AFTER SELMA MOVED KING TO TEARS. THEY ECHO WITH UNMISTAKABLE RELEVANCE HALF A CENTURY LATER

A year later, on a March Sabbath christened Bloody Sunday, 600 demonstrators demanding equal access to the voting booth assembled on the outskirts of Selma, Ala., where they were clubbed and teargassed by state troopers and local police. What followed was perhaps Johnson's finest hour. "What happened in Selma is part of a far larger movement which reaches into every section and state of America," he told a joint session of Congress. "It is the effort of American Negroes to secure for themselves the full blessings of American life. Their cause must be our cause too, because it is not just Negroes but really it is all of us who must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice. And we shall overcome."

Johnson's words that night moved King to tears. They echo with unmistakable relevance half a century later, when the right to vote is once more being tested. In the finest tradition of the bully pulpit, they illustrate the difference between a President who preaches at us and one who undertakes to explain us to ourselves. That said, the pulpit isn't what it used to be. Long gone are the days when a presidential address from the Oval Office automatically commanded a television audience of 70 mil-

lion, countered only by the lonely voice of Eric Sevareid offering what the three television networks labeled instant analysis. Today, Obama is lucky to be seen in the cable universe, shouting into the wind of millions of self-appointed Sevareids twittering their impressions of his speech as he delivers it.

Likewise consigned to memory are the Frank Capra-esque exploits of Ronald Reagan instigating a flood of calls to Capitol Hill, enough to shake loose dozens of Southern Democrats needed to pass his economic program. The fragmentation of the modern media guarantees it. So does the disappearance of Southern Democrats. These days the loyal opposition couldn't care less about jammed phones; they're too busy jamming the operations of government itself. Meanwhile Obama, our putative instructor in chief, is ensnared in a political culture that defines success not as forging consensus but as preventing it. The President has been criticized for not employing his persuasive powers more forcefully. This sidesteps the question: How does a President persuade congregation members who have tuned him out, disputing his legitimacy and reserving their attention for rivals who reinforce their existing beliefs and prejudices?

That is precisely what makes the President's remarks following the Trayvon Martin verdict so compelling. In sharing bitter memories of car doors being locked in response to his mere presence, Obama offers a postmodern version of the bully pulpit. Less theatrical than T.R.'s bluster, less elegant than JFK's belated conversion to freedom as every American's birthright, less urgent than LBJ's moral imperative, Obama's parking-lot epiphany is as chillingly authentic as it is impossible to dismiss.

Neither Kennedy nor King, this President appears less interested in directing a national conversation on race than in sparking interior dialogue, a discussion beginning not with his standing before Congress but with the rest of us figuratively staring into our mirrors. ■

*Smith is a presidential historian and scholar-in-residence at George Mason University*



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The Los Angeles-based firm has 60 million digital users. It also has new projects designed to appeal to millions more.

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But there's more. Allied Wallet has new projects in the works, such as a campaign called **#MyBigIdea**, which invites aspiring entrepreneurs

to bring their concepts to Allied Wallet for help turning them into successful online businesses. "You tell us about your big idea and we will show you the way, A to Z," says Khawaja.

The process is straightforward: Simply fill out a form on the company's website ([www.alliedwallet.com/my-big-idea](http://www.alliedwallet.com/my-big-idea)). Allied Wallet will help you develop your idea, determine the necessary

components—such as hosting, shopping cart solutions or e-mail marketing—and assist you through launch.

Although **#MyBigIdea** is still very new, several clients have already signed up. "The Internet is so big and global, anyone can build a business," says Khawaja. "It's my mission in life to see people succeed, and to make *their* dreams come true, too."

  
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'1963 IS NOT  
BUT A BE

MARTIN LUT

IN HIS "I HAVE A DREAM"



**OT AN END  
GINNING.'**

**HER KING JR.**

**SPEECH, AUG. 28, 1963**

# ONE DREAM.

In some ways, America has exceeded King's visions. In others, however, his to-do list remains far from finished

**BY MICHELE NORRIS**



LOOKING AHEAD AUSTIN BROWN, 9, OF GAINESVILLE, GA., AT THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON IN 1963



**LIVING HISTORY** MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. MURALS PHOTOGRAPHED BY CAMILO JOSÉ VÉRGARA. FROM LEFT: IN PHILADELPHIA, IN DETROIT (PAINTED BY BENNIE WHITE), ON AN AUTO-REPAIR

I HAVE SPENT MUCH OF THE SUMMER talking to people who witnessed Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s speech 50 years ago this month. While reaching back through time to understand that day, I collected a series of photographs of King on my computer. At some point I noticed something in these images. In most of them, King's arm is outstretched toward the crowd, hand held high, palm open. The way you might raise hands over someone in church who is standing in the need of prayer. As my reporting took me back to 1963—a year of tumult and bloodshed in the fight for racial equality—I realized that as King was reaching out over the crowd, he might as well have been reaching up to touch the sun.

The things he mused about in that speech were the stuff of fantasy in 1963. You needed more than just the audacity of hope to imagine that states "sweltering with the heat of oppression" could be "transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice." Even things that seem routine today—the idea that "little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers"—were well outside the bounds of reasonable expectations in 1963. So how far have we come since that hot August day when thousands flocked to Washington? Has King's dream been achieved?

In some ways the America of today has even exceeded what he allowed himself to envision. Fifty years after King delivered his speech, another black man will stand at the Lincoln Memorial to address the masses—this time at a lectern embellished with a presidential seal. And the crowd assembled to hear Barack Obama will include women, minorities and immigrants who have climbed a ladder of upward mobility that simply did not exist five decades ago. There will also be people in that crowd who can look into their own past and remember a time when they once enforced or embraced segregation, not necessarily out of hatred but because that is just the way it was. Rabid segregationists may have been the pistons that kept Jim Crow segregation humming, but apathy and the go-along-to-get-along mentality fueled the engine of racist America.

King knew that, and it is why throughout 1963 his speeches, his interviews and his "Letter From a Birmingham Jail" were aimed not just at dispossessed blacks but also at "do nothingism" among moderate whites who he said were "more devoted to 'order' than to justice." His words at the Lincoln Memorial were directed not only to the assemblage but also to the much larger and largely white audience that would be listening on the radio or watching

black-and-white TVs. When you look at those two historic tent poles spanning a half-century—the preacher and the President—it is clear that irrefutable aspects of King's dream have been realized. King's lawyer Clarence Jones, who helped draft the March on Washington speech, said those who worked closely with King "never contemplated the possibility of a black President in our lifetimes."

But as we measure progress since that sweltering day in August, are we using the right mile stick?

America twice elected a President who is black. That's one for the history books—but so too was the day that same President visited the White House briefing room to remind America that while the world rises up to meet him as leader, as a black man he might have a hard time hailing a cab outside the White House. Speaking of the not-guilty verdict in the Trayvon Martin case, Obama said, "I think it is important to recognize that the African-American community is looking at this issue through a set of experiences and a history that doesn't go away." With that statement, the distance between the preacher and the President was much like an image in an automobile's side-view mirror: OBJECTS IN MIRROR ARE CLOSER THAN THEY APPEAR.

It can often seem that King's dream has almost completely upstaged his to-do



LOS ANGELES AND SHARING SPACE WITH JESUS AND PRESIDENT OBAMA IN HIGHLAND PARK, MICH.



list. The full name of the 1963 event was the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, and the organizers realized that if thousands of people were flocking to the nation's capital, then the demands ought not be fuzzy. Planners distributed organizing manuals that detailed the reasons for the grand effort. "What We Demand"—the manual stated. The answer was a 10-point plan that included "dignified jobs at decent wages," "desegregation of all school districts" and a ban on discrimination in "all housing supported by federal funds."

"Why We March"—the manual spelled that out too. "To redress old grievances and to help resolve an American crisis... born of the twin evils of racism and economic deprivation."

That last bit got lost over the years. How does one assess the current state of King's dream without also examining the items on that wish list that have yet to be realized? There is little doubt that had he lived, King today would be concerned about prison rates, murder rates, wars and persistent racial inequality—the so-called opportunity gap. That specific list of demands for the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom also suggests that King would be particularly upset about the growing wealth gap.

Consider the cruel irony in a now familiar image. King's name adorns major

thoroughfares in many American cities, and most often the name of the civil rights icon is attached to streets that run through communities of color. But those streets are too often boulevards of broken dreams and limited opportunities. While the black and Latino middle class is growing, financial stability still remains beyond reach for a large sector of society. Since the mid-1970s, the unemployment rate for blacks has consistently been roughly double the unemployment rate for whites. Even the concept of wealth is relative when assessed in black and white terms. The median wealth of black families in which the head of household graduated from college is less than the median wealth for white families whose head of household dropped out of high school. Eighty-five percent of black and Latino households have a net worth that falls below the median wealth for white households. Closing the gap would require black and Latino households to save 100% of their incomes for three consecutive years. Talk about trying to touch the sun.

In the decades following the March on Washington, much of the work focused on integration. It was often about terrain: Who got to go to what schools or live in what neighborhoods? Who had access to the management track? There were busing, affirmative action, equal-

opportunity programs and diversity training. The result of all those efforts can be summed up quite powerfully in six simple words: "We wanted equality. We got integration."

Those six words recently arrived in my inbox from Rondrea Danielle Mathis of Tampa. For the past three years I have been collecting six-word stories on race and cultural identity at the Race Card Project to help foster a dialogue on differences and to better understand the experience around race in America. More than 30,000 people have shared their stories, and collectively they provide potent lessons for us all. One of the things I have come to realize during this summer retrospective is that the equality King called for involves not physical terrain but the geography of the mind. What kind of baggage do we carry? What assumptions do we make? What kinds of boxes do we check off or put people in... or even create for ourselves?

Try this exercise. Read the following descriptions and visualize the people from these scenarios in your mind: A banker. A chief of staff at a hospital. A law-school valedictorian. A family out on a Sunday afternoon hoping to purchase a new home. A man who spends his retirement fly fishing. The woman who is juggling family, work and aging parents and still trying to make a weekly yoga class.



Now be honest. What did the people look like? Did they resemble members of your family or people in your community? Were the images based on what you see and hear in your life or in the media? Did that bank president have a South Asian name that included so many syllables that it seemed to dance across the tongue? Did that law-school valedictorian have a deep Southern accent, or did she give a shout-out to grandparents in the audience who have prospered in America but do not speak fluent English?

Most likely the answers are no. But by 2023, the majority of children under 18 in this country will be minorities. And yes, that will call for a new terminology—but also a new way of thinking. The socioeconomic indicators that once marked people for automatic privilege are shifting. The next generation of 18-year-olds isn't going to look or sound like the last. If America is to prosper, kids who listen to reggaeton, eat kimchi, celebrate their *quinceañeras*, work weekends at the small-town Dairy Queen and wear oversize hoodies have to believe in the promise of King's dream. The geography of the mind requires that we challenge our assumptions and see past differences to place all kinds of people in a category marked "bound for success." While it is regrettable that King's "unfinished" list is still too long, the brilliance of his riff on the dream was that it challenged us to think differently.

King could see the future from where he stood. The March on Washington is remembered as a civil rights protest, and many of the historic images show close-ups of brown faces. But the massive crowd that day was largely integrated. People of all colors flocked to Washington. The U.S. press did not linger on that fact, but the international press was awestruck by the diversity. It was a central theme of the foreign coverage. Decades later, it is still a focal point when people look to the U.S. from overseas. Our diversity is seen as one of the best things America has going for it. Perhaps we should recognize that too. ■

Norris is a special correspondent for National Public Radio and director of the Race Card Project ([theracecardproject.com](http://theracecardproject.com))

## MEASURING THE DREAM

IN THE PAST 50 YEARS, AFRICAN AMERICANS HAVE SEEN PROFOUND IMPROVEMENTS IN EDUCATIONAL AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES. BUT A CLEAR RACE GAP REMAINS

### POPULATION

Although blacks have climbed from 11% of the population in 1960 to 14% today, they are no longer the largest U.S. minority



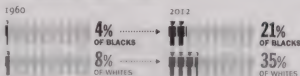
### EDUCATION

African-American dropout rates have fallen, and blacks are collecting more advanced degrees, but they still trail whites

#### Drop out of high school



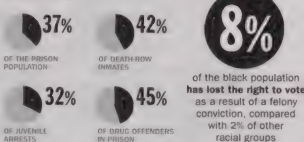
#### Hold a bachelor's degree or higher



### CRIME & PUNISHMENT

The black prison population has grown: 1 in 3 black men can expect to go to prison in his lifetime

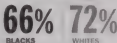
#### Blacks make up



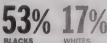
## AMERICAN ATTITUDES ON RACE RELATIONS

- Are relations between whites and blacks very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad or very bad?
- Are new civil rights laws needed to reduce discrimination against blacks?
- Do you favor programs that make special efforts to help blacks and other minorities get ahead to make up for past discrimination?

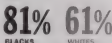
Very or somewhat good



Yes



Yes



## ECONOMICS

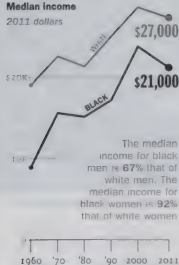
About 25% of black families live below the poverty line according to recent data. That's down from 41% in the mid-1960s.

### Poverty rate



### Median income

2011 dollars



### Unemployment rate

Through strong economic times and recessions, African-American unemployment has hovered at roughly double white unemployment.

2013



**7%**

of businesses were owned by blacks in 2007—more than triple the percentage in 1967

**45%**

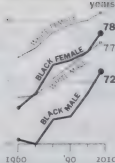
of blacks now own their own homes, compared with 70% of whites

## HEALTH

Whites outlive blacks by nearly four years. Blacks are less likely than whites to have health insurance.

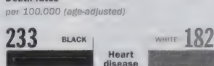
### Life expectancy

81 years



### Death rates

per 100,000 (age-adjusted)



**40** Diabetes **19**

**18** Breast cancer **12**

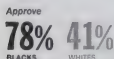
**18** Homicide **4**

**5** Suicide **13**

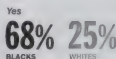
## GOVERNMENT



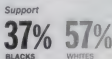
■ Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling race relations?



■ Do you think the American justice system is biased against black people?



■ Do you support a law for your state that says people can fight back with deadly force if they feel threatened, even if they could retreat?



■ Are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the Zimmerman verdict?



TIME research by Emily Malby and Alex Acosta

Note: Income data from 2007 to the present and occupation data from 2000 to the present include those who identify as two or more races.

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau; Digest of Education Statistics; NAACP; Federal Bureau of Prisons; Bureau of Justice Statistics; the Sentencing Project; Bureau of Labor Statistics; University of Washington; National Center for Health Statistics; Congressional Research Service; Gallup; Public Religion Research Institute; Quinipiac; Pew.

# WHAT THE DREAM MEANS TO ME

## I HAVE A DREAM TOO

BY MALALA YOUSAFZAI

Martin Luther King Jr. inspired millions of people, including me, to dream. His words—still so powerful after half a century—empower us to continue the journey to our destination of peace and equality. He was, of course, a great human-rights activist and leader. He stood up against segregation and inspired America to be a country for people of all colors and creeds. He raised his voice for freedom with honesty. He dreamed and changed the world with a few unforgettable, powerful words.

His legacy is that those words reached far beyond America's shores and far beyond the generation to whom he spoke. They are relevant today. They are relevant to me, a girl born almost 30 years after he died, from a country more than 7,000 miles away.

My dream is to see every child with a book and pen. I dream that every woman in the world will be treated with dignity and equality. Fifty years on from his famous oration in Washington, D.C., I have a dream too.

*Yousafzai is a Pakistani activist*

## WE'VE GOT TO KEEP MARCHING

BY JESSE JACKSON

In many ways, the March on Washington was a culmination of millions from Dec. 1, 1945, to Aug. 28, 1963. We were on the dawn of a new day, and it had been daylight a long time to come. The essence of Dr. King's speech was not the dream; it was the difficult promise.

We had been promised the deep responsibilities of full citizenship, the right to vote. We had been promised equal protection under the national equal opportunity. Yet in our quest for citizenship, the promise was broken.

The quest at the march was that we were winning, and we were doing it together. Blacks, whites—we were a traditional social-justice coalition. That was before we had the public accommodations and before we had the right to vote. But those victories were in sight.

We had this sense that we were winning; we were rising up. We had overcome fear. That speech was an affirmation that it will keep marching, it will keep marching; we're going to win this battle. It was a dawn-to-dusk speech, and we won.

Now we have the sense that without that march toward nothing. One thing we can learn from Dr. King is that the forces of equal protection should neither sleep nor stand by. We got the right to vote in 1870 after 200 years of slavery. In 1954 we got the voting rights act, but in 2013 the Supreme Court consecrated it. The struggle for democracy and equal protection will never be a post-race discussion. We've got to keep marching. Jackson is a founder and civil rights activist.



MAN OF THE HOUR KING SHAKES HANDS WITH THE CROWD AT THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON

## MANIFESTO FOR AMERICA

BY THEODORE B. OLSON

Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech should be required reading for every American. Like the Declaration of Independence and the Gettysburg Address, it is an elegant, passionate and unforgettable distillation of the aspiration and inspiration of America. In just a few paragraphs, King expressed his anguish at unfulfilled promises, the urgency facing America to live up to its ideals and his abiding faith that it could and would do so.

King pronounced the time for garrison to have expired and shared his deeply rooted conviction that his dream would, at long last, coalesce. He made clear that the need for action was immediate and compelling, while exhorting blacks to renew their faith in America. There has been no greater reminder of what this nation held itself out to be and no greater plea for us to attain those ideals. No greater invocation of the spirit of Jefferson and Lincoln. No greater manifesto for America.

*Olson is a Republican advocate for same-sex marriage.*



## TEETERING ON A TIGHTROPE BY SHONDA RHIMES

I've known large parts of this speech by heart since before I could read. My father likes to quote the words of great men at the dinner table. King's definitely qualified.

To me, a child born in the '70s, the words of his speech seemed vaguely confusing. What was the fuss? King had a dream, and it came true: I held hands with the little white girl next door almost every day when I went out to play. As I got older, I came

to realize that while King's dream had become something of a reality in small pockets of America, in the larger world it was more ethereal.

We are living in a strange time in terms of race in this country. We're teetering on a tightrope between greatness and madness. A man of color can be President of the United States. A man of color can be shot for wearing a hoodie. We haven't gotten to King's promised land. There's still work to be done.

*Rhimes is a writer and producer*

## KEEPING OUR PROMISE

BY MARCO RUBIO

A half-century has passed since Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. stood on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial to deliver our nation's cornerstone. His voice was heard and faithfully that America should fulfill the promise made in our founding documents by allowing every citizen to exercise their constitutional rights.

Dr. King's legacy brings hope to those and promises of a better future who wanted to contribute to American exceptionalism. That brilliant immigrant leader is a reminder, who made a new life here after coming from Cuba. This immigration is 200 years—the year Dr. King was the youngest, but brilliant—and reminds me, someone who was in the vanguard of his legacy, facing the same obstacles were possible regardless of the circumstances of our birth.

I have taken my own children to the Lincoln Memorial and shown them where Dr. King spoke to the celebration promise of our nation. Standing in this place, I was filled with optimism, my children like to imagine where my cultural heritage is dramatically different from the one that Dr. King's dream was 50 years past.

Dr. King's commitment to that exceptionalism and greatness are American dreams, building on the dream of the immigrant. His message and legacy must live on to inspire us and his dream must continue to lead us on we move toward America's bright future. *Marco Rubio is a Republican Senator from Florida*

## THE PATH FORWARD

BY JOHN CONYERS

I am proud to say that I owe my political career to the inspiration that came from Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

I first met Dr. King and his wife Coretta in the early 1960s. After the Supreme Court upheld the principle of "one person, one vote," Michigan was required to create a new congressional seat in Detroit, which I ran for in 1964. Thanks to the recommendation of my good friend Rosa Parks, I became the only congressional candidate ever endorsed by Dr. King.

I was proud to cast one of my very first votes in Congress for the Voting Rights Act of 1965. That document, along with the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1968 Fair Housing Act, is a crown jewel of our civil rights laws. They represent the very spirit of King's "I Have a Dream" speech (a phrase he first used in the Freedom March in Detroit, two months earlier).

Despite the historic election of our first African-American President, the challenges remain daunting. In June the Supreme Court weakened the Voting Rights Act at a time when many states are adding onerous new voter ID requirements. Affirmative action is under assault in the courts. Our schools are becoming resegregated. But these challenges are not insurmountable. Through a renewed commitment to the teachings of Dr. King, we must keep the struggle alive. *Conyers is a Democratic Congressman from Michigan*

## DARING TO DREAM

BY ELIJAH E. CUMMINGS

As I was growing up in a low-income family in Baltimore, my biggest exposures to the world beyond the borders of my community were my family's black-and-white TV, the movies I went to see and visiting relatives. From these glimpses I learned there were places we couldn't go, things we couldn't do and dreams we shouldn't have.

At age 9, I joined a group of children organized by local NAACP leaders in a march from the tiny "colored" wading pool to the Olympic-size "white" pool a few blocks away. We marched under the threat of violence—not to change the world but because we wanted to swim. Dr. King's speech, delivered shortly after we integrated the pool, gave our march context and empowered me. I was just a kid, but even then I knew that things would have to change. His speech gave me the hope to believe that they would.

Cummings is a Democratic Congressman from Maryland

## VOICE TO THE VOICELESS

BY CHARLAYNE HUNTER-GAULT

As thousands stood on the Mall in Washington, D.C., I was sitting in a small office on West 43rd Street in New York City where I was positioned to fulfill my own dream. Thanks to the work of some of those in the crowd—black professionals from Atlanta who moved to realize the promise of the Supreme Court decision outlawing school segregation—I was able to walk through the doors of a university all white for 176 years, to prepare for a career I had dreamed of since childhood.

Now, three months after graduation, I was glued to a television screen at the New Yorker where I had been given a job as an editorial assistant. On that August day I unashamedly shed tears listening to John Lewis and Dr. King. I took to heart their words, vowing that I would use the realization of my dream to give voice to the voiceless and tell their stories in the pages of the New Yorker and wherever else the "let us all dream dream" would take me. It is a promise I continue to try to fulfill. Thanks to the example of the timeless marchers in Washington, I try to "keep on keepin' on and don't feel no way back."

Hunter-Gault is a journalist.

## EDUCATION IS THE KEY

BY GEOFFREY CANADA

Fifty years ago, the No. 1 issue for African Americans was blatant discrimination. Due in part to Dr. King's powerful words, the country passed legislation that led us away from Jim Crow and moved us toward embracing our differences and seeing them as a source of strength.

Today, though, we still have a black-white achievement gap in education and deeply troubling statistics about incarceration, substance abuse and unemployment. They tell us Dr. King's dream has not been fully realized. Our country has come a long way in terms of civil rights, but we still have a long way to go.

Education is the key to achieving the dream. Our public education system, the step up for so many Americans, is failing to prepare huge numbers of our children for the future. That threatens the dream for all of us.

Canada is president and CEO of the Harlem Children's Zone



DEFINING MOMENT KING ON THE STEPS OF THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL

## REMEMBERING BROTHER MARTIN

BY SONIA SANCHEZ

How to tell you about this aristocratic word sorcerer with a commoner's eye? How to make you hear our tears as he welcomed our souls and held our hearts in his hands? This Martin Luther King man was a *cante jondo*, a deep song of Africa. The South. The Americas.

He came toward us with the staccato speech and rhythm of the spirit. And his passion entered this American bloodstream. He no longer

spoke for himself. Something began to move through him. He levitated language and we wept, laughed, hummed till time stood still. He had summoned the *duende*, the spirit of all of our ancestors who had suffered and yet survived, and did it with dignity and grace and order and beauty.

He told us that we had affirmed life, that our eyes had abandoned death, defeat. That our feet were dancing silver.

In August 1963, we heard the thunder of angels. Sanchez is an author and a poet





## DREAMS OF DEMOCRACY

BY WANG DAN

When Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. gave his "I Have a Dream" speech, he must have known that very few people believed such a vision could come true. Nevertheless, he did not hesitate to stand up and speak. Throughout history, idealists have been willing to commit to dreams that seem impossible. But dreams are more powerful than doubt or violence. When I helped lead the peaceful student protest in Tiananmen Square in 1989, critics said our movement was doomed. The tanks rolled in and many people were killed. I am now in exile. But I know that our hopes for a democratic China will eventually be realized. History allowed Martin Luther King's dream to prevail. China also deserves to dream.

Wang is a Chinese democracy-movement leader.

## A WAR OF MORALS

BY COLIN POWELL

I was in Vietnam in August 1968. I was not able to see or hear Dr. King's speech, and in those days the news to Vietnam traveled slowly. My wife Anna was in Birmingham with our infant son. During that ugly summer, my father-in-law stood guard to protect my family while I was fighting for our country 8,000 miles away.

I returned home to find America embroiled in a second Civil War, one led by Dr. King. It was a war of morals, righteousness and the aspirations of our Founding Fathers. The "I Have a Dream" speech that up a mirror for all Americans to look deeply into the spirit and soul of our country.

The "Dream" speaks, along with the Civil Rights Act and Voting Rights Act that followed, finally bring the bonds of segregation and Jim Crow that had imprisoned our finest dreams. Not only were African Americans given a birth of freedom, but white America had a horrible burden removed from its back. Fifty years later, we have seen great progress, but we are not all where we need to be. Education, jobs, health care and good housing for all Americans must remain our goal. We all must work together if Dr. King's dream is to be fully realized. Powell was U.S. Secretary of State from 2001 to 2006.

## THERE IS STILL HOPE

BY MAYA ANGELOU

It was 50 years ago when the Rev. King had that dream and dared to say so, that little black children in Florida and in Mississippi and in Georgia and in South Carolina would stand with little white children and hold hands, that they themselves would dream the dream. What a dream. Can you imagine if we did not have this undergirded hate and racism, prejudices and sexism and ageism? If we were not crippled by these idiocies, can you imagine what our country would be like?

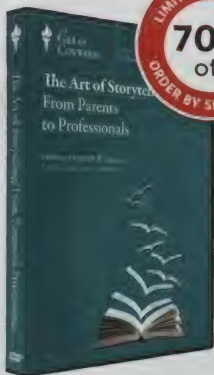
This is not to say we have not had progress—in fact, tremendous progress. After the lives and deaths of Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X and the Kennedys and Fannie Lou Hamer—young people may say, You mean it is no better? But it is better.

There is still hope. If there were not, there would be no reason to get up in the morning. There is hope. Sometimes you need to be jarred into finding it, jarred into sharing it. I remember a statement of the Rev. King's that you ought to believe something in life, believe in something so fervent that you will stand up with it until the end of your days. I think we all have to believe that the day will come that we do not have to be saddled; we will not be crippled with all this idiocy. I hope for that. I am still working for it. I am still writing for that. I speak of that. I sing about that. I pray about that.

Angelou is an author and a poet.



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# The Culture



Car culture, shifting gears: modern drive-ins are making the switch from film to digital  
PAGE 104

**102 POP CHART** Waffo-bell / **104 MOVIES** Drive-ins reborn; *Jobs* and *The Butler* reviewed / **108 TUNED IN** Real housedads of TV / **110 MUSIC** The 13 songs of summer '13  
**112 TRAVEL** Open ski-son

Photomontage by Holly Andres for TIME

# Pop Chart



POP-DIVA EDITION



## GOOD WEEK/ BAD WEEK

**Katy Perry**  
Her new single, "Roar," raced to the summit of iTunes' top-selling singles chart

**Lady Gaga**  
Her new single, "Applause"—released a week early because of leaks—had to compete with Perry's

## QUICK TALK

### Cuba Gooding Jr.

What's the worst thing about playing a butler? "That damn coat!" says the 45-year-old Oscar winner, who stars in Lee Daniels' *The Butler* (out Aug. 16). "We shot in New Orleans, and some of the wool tuxedos were so hot." Of course, a role this good—Gooding plays a co-worker of Cecil Gaines (Forest Whitaker), the real-life White House butler who served during the civil rights movement—was worth it.

—LILY ROTHMAN

**How do you train to play a White House butler?** We had advisers on set, including butlers that worked around town. It's so funny. Whenever I'm working with an adviser, it isn't like I



See: *Marie Perle* returns  
in *The Butler* on  
page 119

ask him questions. **What do you do?** I watch him. Because it's something he's doing when he's not advising that I want to steal for the character—the way he holds his chin, holds his posture, how he undoes his tie. **Have you been to the actual White House?** I've gone on a number of occasions, the last one being for the *Red Tails* movie that premiered there. Obama invited us. **What was that like?** It was awesome. Being in that all-red theater [the Red Room], knowing they watch movies in there—it's kind of cool. **Your character tells some great dirty jokes in the movie.** Some of which were Lee's! **I was going to ask you if you had a favorite, but we probably can't print it.** I've been playing ice hockey for 22 years. I've been in a lot of locker rooms across America. I've heard racier stuff than made the movie. **How about a favorite clean joke?** Why was six afraid of seven? **Because seven eight nine.** There you go!



## HAVE A SEAT

Karl Lagerfeld may be best known as the head of Chanel—and the speaker of *bons mots* like "Sweatpants are a sign of defeat"—but he's also an accomplished photographer. His stark images, including a shot of Italian architect Gio Ponti's classic 699 Superleggera chairs, will be on view at the Cassina showroom in London Sept. 14 through 22 as part of the London Design Festival.

## NOT-SO-HAPPY ACCIDENT

# 600

Age, in years, of a statue in Florence whose pinky finger was snapped off by an American tourist—a 55-year-old Missouri native who was reportedly trying to measure the figure's hand. The Museo dell'Opera del Duomo has said it will repair the statue, which is thought to depict the Virgin Mary.



## ZOOPLS!

### When Animals Escape

Costa Rica's plan to close all public zoos as part of a new no-cage policy means that by the end of next year, its zoo animals will roam free. But elsewhere in the world, creatures have had to get much more creative to wriggle out of captivity.

### Capone the Monkey

In 1935 he led 172 of his cohort at Frank Buck's Jungle Camp Animal Park on Long Island, New York, across a plank a zookeeper had accidentally left lying across the border most



### Evelyn the Gorilla

During the 1990s and early '00s, she escaped the Los Angeles Zoo four or five times; in one instance, she jumped onto another gorilla's back to hop over the wall



## FAST FOOD The Next Big Taco

Craving a taco at 8 a.m.? Taco Bell has you covered. Kind of. Its new take on a breakfast sandwich—eggs, sausage and syrup wrapped in a waffle—was a top seller in five-test restaurants, meaning it's on track for the national rollout. Your move, Pizza Hut.

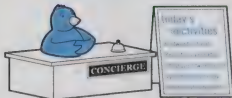
AMERICANA  
THE BEAUTIFUL

As part of "American Modern: Hopper to O'Keeffe" at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City—which highlights work from 1915 to 1950—the idyllic American countryside of Charles Sheeler's Bucks County Barn, right, will be displayed alongside scenes of bustling urban society from Walker Evans to show how contemporary realities clashed with rural nostalgia. The exhibit runs Aug. 2 through Jan. 26.



TRENDING

@SolWaveHouse



Most people jet-set to avoid the Internet. Not so at Spain's shoreside Sol Wave House. The world's first Twitter-themed hotel lets guests access its Twitter-powered community and even tweet things like "aFillMyFridge" for concierge service.



SIMPSON'S  
Block Party

Homer and his clan already have a movie, a theme park and an edition of Monopoly. So this new line of Legos—due in 2014—seems like a natural next step in their ongoing quest for world domination. Already, however, some have protested that the snarky Simpsons may not be "appropriate" for Lego kids. D'oh!

3 THINGS YOU  
DON'T HAVE  
TO WORRY  
ABOUT THIS  
WEEK

1. *Sharknado's* sequel  
toning down its  
campiness.

The TV movie will be called *Sharknado: The Second One*.

2. Bieber's ability  
to elicit eye rolls.

TMZ published photos of the popstar visiting his grandma's house wearing a guitar—and only a guitar.

3. Falling asleep  
on your Virgin  
Atlantic flight.

For a limited time, flights from Heathrow to Larnaca and Manchester will have emergency blankets on hand.

The Unnamed  
Egyptian Cobra

Although it's unclear whether this reptile actually escaped in 2011 (it was found hiding in the Reptile House at the Bronx Zoo), it caused panic and inspired a Twitter parody



Humboldt the  
Penguin

In 2012 the Tokyo Sea Life Park resident scaled a rock wall twice his height—especially impressive considering that penguins can't fly—and took refuge in a nearby river



Rusty the  
Red Panda

Last month he was found wandering in a residential Washington, D.C., neighborhood not far from his home at the National Zoo; officials speculate he climbed a tree to get out





# Screen Saver

## Drive-ins reboot just in time for a second act

By Lily Rothman

PICTURE THE DRIVE-IN MOVIE OF BABY-boomer America: a summer evening, the white of the screen against the rose of the sky, the incandescent glow from the concession stand, kids tossing a football as they wait for the show to begin, the smell of bug spray, the rows of cars with patrons draped across the roofs.

On a recent August night, the Wellfleet Drive-In Theatre in Wellfleet, Mass., seems to have kept up the classic elements. There's the warmth, the sunset, the popcorn, the families, the cars prowling for an open spot, the double feature of *The Smurfs 2* and *Grown Ups 2* that will start in a few minutes.

There's little evidence in Wellfleet that rising real estate prices and mall-based multiplexes will necessarily doom drive-ins. Across the U.S., however, the four-wheel format struggles with technical and financial hurdles even as talk of a renaissance bubbles up sporadically. The drive-in is at a turning point, the double feature of its history at intermission.

This summer marks 80 years since Richard M. Hollingshead Jr. secured a patent for a "novel construction in outdoor theaters whereby the transportation facilities to and from the theater are made to constitute an element of the seating" and opened the first such theater, in New Jersey. Drive-ins—also known as "ozoneers" and "outdoorers"—proliferated in car-loving North America and left an indelible mark on the culture, preserved in such movies as *Grease* and *The Outsiders*.

Entrepreneurs like John Vincent, who owns the Wellfleet drive-in and is president of the United Drive-In Theatre Owners Association (UDITOA), are betting the drive-in will have a boffo second act. "We would not be here if we were not making money," he says. He'll also admit that his

business is cast against type. There were 4,063 drive-ins at the industry's peak in 1958. Vincent says the wave of closings bottomed out in the '90s, but UDITOA's figures show that the theater count dwindled further in the past decade. Their latest estimate counts 357 survivors.

The most recent drive-in deathwatch has been spurred by the costly transition from film projectors to digital projectors. Soon, studios won't offer film prints. So if a theater can't go digital, it's done. About 40% of drive-ins have already converted, and to help others, Cinedigm—a digital-cinema company—and the National Association of Theatre Owners worked out a virtual print fee arrangement for drive-ins. Studios apply the money saved by not printing film to help theater owners repay loans for digital projectors, which cost about \$70,000 per screen.

Not every drive-in will make the transition. Some are too small to get the numbers to work. Vincent, whose theater converted last winter, guesses another 40% of drive-ins will switch—or at least try. Banks are skeptical of funding drive-ins, he says, despite the fact that they often rank among the top 10 theaters in box-office sales for a given movie. Some drive-in owners have resorted to crowdfunding.

Maybe the bankers ought to motor over to the Coyote Drive-In, which opened this summer in Fort Worth, Texas. Although

Brady Wood, its president and co-founder, says he tried to retain the old essence, the Coyote is no *Grease*-era ozoneer. There's beer and wine and an upscale concession menu featuring hummus with warm pita. It's in a fairly urban area and was built through a public-private partnership. Wood is working on staging live concerts that could be simulcast to other digitally capable drive-ins. The business is a smash, doing an average of 10,000 tickets a week at \$8 per adult and \$6 per child.

The Coyote trades in hipness rather than in Americana, a fun experience rather than a flashback. "This is just a big happy generator," says Wood. "The immediate response is, 'Oh my gosh, I love the drive-in!' If you question them, you find out half of them have never been to a drive-in."

Nostalgia, after all, is not a business model. "It's fun. I love it," says Vincent, who remembers seeing *Back to the Future* at the drive-in he now owns right after he got his driver's license. "At the end of the day, the customers, though, are there for a great experience. If you don't have a great first-run movie for them, they're not coming."

Not that a little nostalgia doesn't help. The Schwimmer family hails from New York City, but Katherine, 40, has come to Cape Cod—and the Wellfleet Drive-In—since childhood. "I was telling the boys how you could lie down on the roof of the car," she says. "It reminds me of growing up." Riley and Tobey, 7 and 8, saw their first movie at a drive-in. Now, as ever, there's the fresh air. There's the picnic. There's the planetarium array of stars that emerge as the lights—as it were—go down. And there's only so much time to talk about it, Tobey reminds his parents, but not because of any grand predictions about the future of the format. There's the movie, he points out: "It's starting." ■

**'At the end of the day, the customers are there for a great experience.'**

—JOHN VINCENT, WELLFLEET DRIVE-IN THEATRE OWNER

**Family night** A Friday  
tailgate at 99 W Drive.  
In in Newberg, Ore.,  
pets welcome



# Movies

## Inside Jobs

The tension between the tyrant and the visionary

By Lev Grossman

I HAVE THE EXTREMELY DUBIOUS distinction of once having kept Steve Jobs waiting for 15 minutes. I had an appointment with him at Apple headquarters, but somehow—I still don't know how—I got lost on the way. When I think about that day now, I find myself—after I'm through cringing with shame—wondering where the hell my iPhone was. But of course it hadn't been released yet. It was 2006, and Jobs was going to show me the first one.

Jobs, as it happened, could not have been more gracious about it, either because he genuinely didn't care or because it didn't suit his purposes to get pissed off at the press. But I'm glad that scene didn't make it into *Jobs*, the new biopic starring Ashton Kutcher. I have a feeling I wouldn't have gotten off that easy—Kutcher's Jobs suffers fools even less gladly than the original. Also I probably would've been played by Paul Giamatti.

Fortunately, *Jobs* doesn't get as far as 2006. It begins with Jobs unveiling the iPod, then free-falls back in time to his famously brief stint at Reed College, where we find him skipping class, sleeping around and dropping acid. Kutcher's take on Jobs is satisfying: if nothing else, he always looks like he's working hard. His Jobs walks the line between an impression and an actual performance, but he gets a lot right: the hunched shoulders, the slightly spavined gait, the oft-steeped fingers, that conspiratorial quarter-smile.

The movie frog-marches Kutcher through Jobs' eventful life roughly and at high speed, like a security guard escorting a fired employee from the building. In 1975, during his time-killing stint at

Atari, Jobs spots a half-built computer in the living room of his friend, the gentle genius Steve Wozniak, and like an entrepreneurial cheetah he pounces, prototypes, productizes, capitalizes and incorporates. The set pieces showing Apple in its garage-chrysalis stage are the movie's best (though as a period piece *Jobs* is still beat hollow by the indie *Computer Chess*). We meet both Jobs the visionary, who saw our future in Wozniak's bare circuit boards and had the will to bring it to a market that didn't exist, and Jobs the asshole, who betrayed his friends and hectoring his colleagues and kicked his pregnant girlfriend out of the house.

Why are we so interested in Jobs' life? It's certainly the stuff of fable, including the redemption of an abandoned child—abandoned first by his birth parents and then by Apple, which kicked him out when the Macintosh lost money. And *Jobs* has a hagiographic quality too: the lonely maverick, rejected and misunderstood, who never wavers in his vision. Yes, he parked in handicapped spaces and didn't bathe enough. But are not such flaws the prerogatives, even the hallmarks, of genius?

*Jobs* struggles with the Jobs conundrum: he was a furnace of rage who felt himself surrounded by idiots whom he felt entitled to subjugate; at the same time he created



## An Apple Nerd Nitpicks *Jobs* The Way Steve Would Have

By Harry McCracken

▶ At the start of *Jobs*, when Jobs is being kicked out of his parents' home, he is shown as a young man, looking like the photo of a young Steve Wozniak in the *Macintosh* manual.

▶ *Jobs* (as played by Ashton Kutcher) is the original Macintosh, as seen from 1978 to 1980. It was more like a computer, the place to look for a machine, described by the *Macintosh* manual.



beautiful tools of empowerment and self-expression. Even those tools embody Jobs' obsession with control: his products are great engines of creativity but also masterpieces of commodity fetishism, glittering and irresistible, that bend consumers to Jobs' will. They're sealed against would-be tinkers, who might dare to monkey with their perfection, and embedded in a closed, hermetic techno-ecology.

Did Jobs want to empower people or control them? Both, surely, and the task of any worthy telling of Jobs' life is to resolve that paradox. God knows I never figured it out. Jobs, as hard as it works, never does either.

► A Radio Shack TRS-80 is in a scene at the April 1977 West Coast Computer Faire where the Apple II was launched. But the TRS-80 wasn't announced until that August.

## Servant of Power. Race in America through a man who tended Presidents

By Mary Pols

In November 2008, an octogenarian African American named Eugene Allen—a White House butler through eight presidential administrations—witnessed Barack Obama's election in joyful disbelief and became the subject of a poignant *Washington Post* story. A version of his life, shifted into dramatic overdrive, is told in director Lee Daniels' *The Butler*, a saga of 20th-century civil rights as seen through the professional and domestic struggles of the fictionalized butler Cecil Gaines (Forest Whitaker, never better), whose job was to be invisible in one of the most visible places in the world. Wildly operatic and occasionally too obvious, *The Butler* is nonetheless, like *Roots*, an essential and deeply moving filmic rendering of African-American history.

Daniels and screenwriter Danny Strong have spun their story into a 20th-century epic, opening in 1926 with young Cecil witnessing first his mother led from a cotton field to be raped by the landowner and then his mildly protesting father shot dead. The lady of the manor (Vanessa Redgrave) decides, perhaps in a fit of sympathy, to train Cecil as a "house n-----," a phrasing echoed during his job interview at the White House in 1957. As an adult, Cecil is the 1950s "good Negro" juxtaposed against the older of his two sons, Louis (the marvelous David Oyelowo), the "angry black man" who comes of age as a Freedom Rider in the '60s.

As in his earlier movies *Precious* and *The Paperboy*, Daniels places extreme emphasis on palette to establish mood. The movie burns in hues of red and amber, a nod to James Baldwin, author of *The Fire Next Time*, and those fires that raged—often literally—in American race relations. Oprah Winfrey, who plays Cecil's alcoholic wife Gloria, wears mostly coral, deep reds and pinks and makes you forget she's Oprah as she smokes and smolders her way through the role of a woman caught between her husband's and son's warring views on opportunity, equality and respect for authority.

The ugly images are myriad: two lynched men hang, Bruegelian, from a rope; chaos reigns on the Freedom Riders' bus as Klansmen attack. Yet there are moments of levity. "Since when did he start calling us Negroes?" head butler Carter (Cuba Gooding Jr.) murmurs as he

watches Lyndon Johnson (Liev Schreiber), a regular user of the N word, speak in favor of civil rights on TV.

But Daniels falters in his stunt casting of the Presidents and First Ladies. As the famous faces parade through, from Robin Williams' Dwight Eisenhower to John Cusack's mortifying Richard Nixon, it begins to appear as if they were all hosting *SNL* and obliged to do a presidential imitation. That said, Jane Fonda's Nancy Reagan? More, please.

Daniels counters nearly every scene at the White House with one from the civil rights movement—the elegance of a state dinner contrasting with the savagery at a lunch counter; Cecil reading *Madeleine* to Caroline Kennedy while the bad hats of the Klan gather in Alabama. It's as subtle as hammer to nail but effective. Those who dislike *The Butler* will accuse it of using both Cecil and Louis Gaines as Zelig-like props, placing them too obviously in harm's way on the railroad ties of time, from Selma to Vietnam. They'd be right, but plenty of real people were caught on those tracks, and *The Butler*'s undeniable force stems from putting its characters—and us—there too.



Whitaker and Winfrey, butler and wife

# Tuned In

## Real Househusbands. In *Modern Dads*, four guys lean in at home

By James Poniewozik

CAN WOMEN HAVE IT ALL? STILL NO. Can men? Nope, nor do many people bother asking. Last year Anne-Marie Slaughter started a hot topic with an *Atlantic* cover story lamenting, WHY WOMEN STILL CAN'T HAVE IT ALL—that is, a prestigious career and hands-on time raising kids. The *New York Times* Magazine recently checked in on mothers who “opted out” of high-powered careers. In *Lean In*, Facebook exec Sheryl Sandberg advised young women to double down on career before and through motherhood; when Marissa Mayer, CEO of Yahoo, ended the company’s work-from-home policy, it was decried as an attack on moms.

And the dads? Statistics and the simple logistics of running two-income households say that more men would also like the option of working from home, or leaning out, or opting out. The proportion of stay-at-home dads in the U.S. has doubled (albeit only to 3.4%); some 20% of fathers are now primary caregivers. Yet even in well-meaning coverage of work-home balance, men tend to be afterthoughts who “help” raise their kids. The idea that a man would put home over career ambition is treated as a fringe life-style choice, like wearing mandals. (Disclosure: I speak as a dad who often works from home. Sometimes in mandals.)

There are reasons for the media’s balance imbalance: stereotypes still hurt women more at work and at home. But they also limit men’s opportunities to be anything but stereotypes. When work-life juggling is framed as women’s stuff—as if men’s lives are work—it reinforces the idea that in a heterosexual marriage, Mom provides the backup income, and Dad the backup parent.

Now reality TV is stepping in. On Aug. 21, A&E is premiering *Modern Dads*,

about four stay-at-home dads in Austin: Nate, “the New Dad”; Sean, “the Stepdad”; Stone, “the Single Dad”; and Rick, “the Veteran.” With any show about dads-as-caregivers (see last year’s awful *Guys With Kids*), a good test is to ask, Would this situation be considered funny or entertaining if it involved moms? At first, *Modern Dads* looks doomed to fail. The credits use the hackneyed undercut-masculinity gag, familiar from *The Hangover*, of posing the guys in sunglasses with their kids at the playground. The ads feature a guy in a work shirt carrying diapers, a bottle and plush toys in a tool belt. “A good day at the office for them,” says the show’s website, “is just keeping their kids—and their manhood—alive.” (Note to A&E: Kinda hard to physically father a child without manhood.)

But the first episode of *Modern Dads* is not as dumb as its publicity. It’s essentially a sitcom in reality-show form, like A&E’s *Duck Dynasty*, edited into sitcom-style A and B plots. (Stone’s thinking about getting a vasectomy! Rick has to plan a princess party!) What’s best about *Modern Dads* is what’s not in it. The men, for instance, don’t feel emasculated by being real househusbands. Staying at home, for anyone, is often an unaffordable luxury, and Austin ain’t cheap. Sean, for one, is uncomplicatedly happy that his live-in girlfriend is a venture capitalist (who’s also a whiz with power tools): “She brings home a lot of money. Life’s pretty good.”

No one’s going to mistake *Modern Dads* for *Mad Men*—it has prominent pooping jokes of toddler and adult varieties—but it slips in bits of class awareness and insights about the physical work of parenting: “When I hit the pillow at the end of the day,” Stone says, “it’s the greatest feeling in the world.” Word to your mother, or your father.

Overall, *Modern Dads* is a study in the trade-offs it takes to show social change on TV. On the one hand, some boys and young men out there will see hands-on dadhood as a viable option. On the other hand, it would be great if competent, stay-at-home dads weren’t treated as a curious subculture, like polygamist sisters, toddler pageant queens or doomsday preppers.

But it’s like they say: You can’t have it all. Sometimes the road to nuance is paved with clichés. In its goofy way, *Modern Dads* illustrates the small, important idea that equality is not something women gain from and men lose from. Want to help women lean in? Tell men it’s O.K. to lean out. ■

Stone, the show’s single guy, has a playdate with his daughter Danica





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table

# Music

## Hot Sounds. Everything you need to know about the 13 songs of summer 2013

By Douglas Wolk

1  
ROBIN THICKE FEAT.  
T.I. AND PHARRELL

2  
DAFT PUNK FEAT.  
PHARRELL

3  
BRUNO MARS

4  
MACKLEMORE & RYAN  
LEWIS FEAT. RAY DALTON

5  
JAY Z FEAT. JUSTIN  
TIMBERLAKE

6  
MILEY CYRUS

### UBIQUITY

It has spent nine weeks and counting at the top of *Billboard's* Hot 100.

Most listened-to song on the radio

### LONGEVITY

Can it be that we've been living with "Blurred Lines" only since March?

### SOCIAL POWER

Thicke cannily used his name as a **haunting** in the video for "Blurred Lines," unleashing a wave of parodies and covers.

### ROOTS

The groove is a dead ringer for Marvin Gaye's 1977 R&B hit "Got to Give It Up."

### CONTROVERSY

The video's topless models were guaranteed to inflame one group of listeners: the lyrics "you know you want it" routine maddened another.

A No. 1 song in most of the world, it never quite made the top of the chart in the U.S.

A genuine summer song (**well, late spring**)—it was released in April.

Fan remixes started appearing after Daft Punk had released only two 15-second snippets of "Get Lucky."

Having Chic mastermind Nile Rodgers play guitar on this faithful pastiche of his **late-'70s** work was an awesome idea.

Mars has been all over the charts for the past few years, and this **disco-ball** **summer bomb** is his big summer statement.

It was initially on Mars' *Unorthodox Jukebox* album last December; listeners found "Treasure" when a video aired in June.

The song's promotional site integrates fans' **Instagram clips** into the official video.

It's Mars' **most overt** **Michael Jackson** homage yet: both the song and the video are halfway to being "Blame It on the Boogie."

Of course not: Who could be cuddlier than Mars?

The Seattle duo's uplifting hip-hop anthem shows up in ads for software, beer, TV sports and the movies *R.I.P.D.* and *Jobs*.

Initially released in August 2011, "Can't Hold Us" hit **No. 1 this May** and was in the Top 10 until recently.

Not as timely as "Same Love," their other summer hit, but two guys going sky-high with a self-released album is an irresistible story.

Nods to Kanye West, **Michael Jackson**, "My Way," A Tribe Called Quest and the duo's Seattle hip-hop forebear Sir Mix-A-Lot.

Nope.

If you missed the hoopla around the release of Jay Z's *Magna Carta ... Holy Grail*, you may have been in a different solar system.

Barely one month old, "Holy Grail" is still climbing the charts—and the video hasn't even been aired.

Jay's mobile app required users to post Facebook or Twitter updates to unlock lyrics.

Jay name-drops **Michael Jackson's** *Thriller* and Kurt Cobain. Justin croons from *Nirvana's* "Smells Like Teen Spirit."

The app that was part of Jay's deal with Samsung mined users' social-media and e-mail information.

From Jay Z's song, *Somewhere's* answer

Its **unerving, woody** video has upwards of 130 million YouTube views.

Most streamed song in the U.S.

Released just after Memorial Day, "We Can't Stop" is aimed squarely at the summer-break crowd.

Cyrus marked her **13 millionth Twitter follower** by announcing her forthcoming album's title: *Bangerz*.

The lyrics are packed with old-school hip-hop phrases: "can't stop won't stop," "hands in the air," "la-di-da-di/ we like to party."

A phrase that could be "dancing with **Miley**" soups more like "dancing with Miley," slang for the drug MDMA.

"TWERK, MILEY TWERK"

Pharrell is the first artist since 2009 to be on both the No. 1 and No. 2 songs on the Hot 100

JACKSON: THICKE; PHARRELL: MARS; MACKLEMORE, JAY Z: CUNIS; SPINX, KENDRICK, MORGAN: GIERBER; JUST: MASTINE; THUNDER: 2302; MILEY: BUCKLE; RAY: DAVID; DALTON: MAGES; 17: DAFT PUNK: AD; PHARRELL: GIERBER; MARS: CUNIS

# The Culture

1963

Fifty years ago, the **Beach Boys** "Surfin' U.S.A." and **Jan and Dean**'s "Surf City" were Top 5 summer hits

FINATICZ

ONE DIRECTION

ANNA KENDRICK

FLORIDA GEORGIA LINE  
FEAT. NELLY

IMAGINE DRAGONS

ZEDD FEAT. FOXES

AVICII

**CUPS**  
The song that started the summer

This L.A. crew's flabbergastingly catchy track was huge in California last summer, and it's become something like the **new** national anthem.

This summer's entry in the Boy-Band Stakes is a global Top 5 pop hit.

Expanded from a fragment in last fall's **Pitch Perfect** to a full-length single, "Cups" is nearly double platinum.

The longest-running No. 1 country song ever was pushed over the top by a rap verse from Nelly; it's topped 5 million downloads.

If you've seen ads for video games in the past year, you've heard this song's lighters-up chorus

A No. 1 dance-club hit, "Clarity" has also **turned up** on **Glee** and **The Voice**.

A gigantic summer song across Europe, "Wake Me Up!" hasn't made much of an impact in the U.S. yet.

FINATICZ recorded "Don't Drop That Thun Thun!" in 2009, but it didn't hit the national chart until this summer.

Hot start, but too soon to tell: it was released in late July.

Broke one-day record for most worldwide views on Vevo

Kendrick's sweet, family-friendly recording has been rising up the pop chart since January.

Originally a 2012 summer song, "Cruise" kept on motorizing and didn't peak until this June.

"Radioactive" crawled up the charts for 42 weeks before hitting the Top 5 in June—the **slowest-ever ascent**.

Originally released last October, it's been clawing its way into public consciousness for the past four months.

Give it a little time. It was only released in mid-June.

More than 3 million plays on SoundCloud

For a week or two in late July, it seemed like **every** video on **Vine** was a "Thun Thun" joke.

Thanks in part to a ridiculous video (with the lads in multiple roles), One Direction is killing it on social-networking sites.

Dozens of **YouTube tutorials** demonstrate how to play the song's distinctive **plastic-cup beat**.

Florida Georgia Line posts regularly to Instagram and Twitter, but the success of "Cruise" seems more about the song than about its artists.

There are countless YouTube covers of "Radioactive," including several with the "Cups" beat.

Zedd worked on Lady Gaga's forthcoming album, and he's been pushing "Clarity" hard on the dance circuit.

Avicii has hordes of followers from the dance-music world; his social platform of choice seems to be **SoundCloud**.

It's built on the hip-hop subgenre called **ratcatch**. (See also Sage the Gemini's underground summer hit "Red Nose.")

The song's main riff is blatantly lifted from the **Who's** "Baba O'Riley." Points for recognizing greatness.

Kendrick learned it from a 2011 video by Anna Burden, by way of Lulu and the Lamplshades, via a **1931 Carter Family tune**.

"Cruise" mentions the **Marshall Tucker Band** in passing, but otherwise it's modern—country hip-hop, if there is such a thing.

The song's distorted, half-time beat couldn't have happened without the emergence of the bass-heavy dubstep genre.

Apparently, **Ellie Goulding's** "Lights" is now a genre.

"Wake Me Up!" is arguably the first post-Mumford & Sons Eurodisco hit.

"Thun thun" is yet another nickname for **swastika**.

You'd think they could have at least used the phrase "tweenage wasteland" somewhere.

Please, someone, think of the cups.

Not unless "a brand-new Chevy with a lift kit" is somehow illegal.

**Wait, a rock band?** They still make those?

None so far.

What do you make of a **bluegrass-tinged collaboration** from a Swedish DJ, soul singer Aloe Blacc and the guitarist from Incubus?





## A Weekend in San Francisco

from Momar G. Visaya  
community journalist, editor  
and foodie

An ongoing series featuring expert advice to help you make the most out of every weekend so you'll have a Better Monday.

**Hit the Road:** Traveling to a new city can be a fun thing, especially if that city is San Francisco. From L.A., a road trip up the picturesque Pacific Coast Highway is a great way to go.

**Great Exploration:** You'll want to visit many of the city's historic neighborhoods, so stay in a centrally located hotel. Explore the Castro and its quaint coffee shops and boutiques, or tour the site of the 1906 earthquake. And go to Chinatown, which was established in 1848 and is the oldest in North America.

**Go for the Gold:** The Presidio is a must-see along the way to the Golden Gate Bridge. Cross the bridge to Sausalito, which boasts its own art galleries and outdoor cafés with dramatic views of the bay.

**Cuisine Crawl:** Savor the food made famous by the city by the bay—from sourdough to cioppino to chocolates. Start along the docks of Pier 39 and make your way to the various dining destinations in the city.

Introducing Westin Weekends. To get away and Make Your Monday Better, visit [westin.com/weekends](http://westin.com/weekends).

**WESTIN**  
HOTELS & RESORTS

# Travel

## Summer Ski Blitz. Why resorts want you to buy your lift tickets now

By Brad Tuttle

AFTER YEARS IN WHICH BOTH SNOW and the economy have been iffy, skiers and boarders have been booking winter vacations later and later—or sometimes not at all. So, to lock in dollars early, resort companies are pushing preseason deals that tempt enthusiasts with access to multiple mountains for a single discounted price, as long as they buy when it's still waterskiing season.

The market's biggest player is Vail Resorts' Epic Pass, which grants unlimited skiing at 12 U.S. mountains (half of which are in Colorado) for \$689. If that sounds pricey, consider that a single-day ticket runs as much as \$129 at Vail—meaning you'd come out ahead if you plan to ski or ride more than seven days this season.

Aggressive pass promotions guarantee cash flow for the resorts even if the snow stinks. If the powder is plentiful, pass holders can ski more, but the resort still wins because visitors spend money at local bars, shops and hotels. The strategy also whittles out competitors. "After you've bought our pass, are you likely to go skiing elsewhere? No," says Kristen Lynch, Vail's chief marketing officer. "Passes really drive customer loyalty."

This cold war has its own arms race. The Epic Pass's main superpower rival, Mountain Collective, sold out

its first round of passes, which offer up to 12 days each at top resorts like Squaw Valley, Aspen, Snowbird and Jackson Hole and 50% off lift tickets for subsequent trips. The price: \$349. This year, Whistler Blackcomb, Canada's biggest resort, joined the collective. Vail countered by adding Utah's Canyons and throwing in access to five days' skiing in Switzerland and Austria.

A third, smaller competitor is the 12-mountain Powder Alliance. Buy a season pass with an ally such as Montana's Bridger Bowl or Colorado's Crested Butte (\$599 and up), and you get three days each at the others.

Some skiers might not like the idea of paying long before snow falls, but the push is working. Once the domain of locals, season passes are snatched up by global ski tourists. Vail's 300,000 pass holders—who represent \$207 million in revenue—come from 50 states and 78 countries. Sales have nearly doubled in the past six years, accounting for about 40% of the company's lift ticket revenues. Mountain Collective started another round of sales (new price: \$379) on Aug. 13. Most Powder Alliance members offer huge pass discounts if you buy by Oct. 31. The earlier you bite, the better the deal—and the sooner you can begin praying for snow. ■



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**CELEBRATING A LEGACY:** Girl Scouts of the USA CEO Anna Maria Chavez with Girl Scouts wearing vintage uniforms at an event in 2012 in Savannah, Ga.

# Leading the Way

Girl Scouts is a modern marvel—a model of inclusion that works.

**COOKIES AND BADGES, PLEDGES AND SASHES.** You could be forgiven for thinking that the Girl Scout on your doorstep selling Thin Mints and Tagalongs is a member of an “old-fashioned” organization. After all, your mother, or your grandmother, was a Girl Scout ... right?

Right. But guess what? Girl Scouts of the USA (GSUSA) couldn't be more on-trend regarding one of the most important tasks facing each and every aspect of the country today: practicing inclusion at all levels.

Girl Scouts founder Juliette Gordon Low was so transfixed by the idea of empowering girls to take care of themselves and their communities that she couldn't imagine any exclusions. After starting the program in 1912 in Savannah, Ga., she described it as unequivocally designed “for the girls of Savannah, and all of

America.” Because of this farsighted emphasis on inclusion and diversity, GSUSA integrated racially well before U.S. law called for it, prompting civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. to pronounce the organization “a force for desegregation in the South.”

Girl Scouts has involved girls from every strata of society from its earliest days. In 1917, the first troop for Girl Scouts with physical disabilities was organized in New York City, and African-American and integrated troops were in place by the 1920s. The first Latina troop was established in Houston in 1922, and today Girl Scouting counts among its members troops of every racial and ethnic background across the country and in more than 90 nations around the world.

**girl scouts** 

#### On the Cutting Edge

Girl Scout troops can also be found on Native American reservations, in mosques,

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**GIRL SCOUT EVANGELIST:** Cathy Coughlin, global marketing officer of AT&T.

**AHEAD OF THEIR TIME:** Girl Scouts in Montebello, Calif., show the proper way to cross a street, 1955.

synagogues, temples and even detention centers, and, of course, down the street from your home. "We've always been on the cutting edge when it comes to inclusivity," says Anna Maria Chávez, GSUSA's current CEO and its first Latina one.

It wasn't always a comfortable place to be, and GSUSA defined its extremely wide view of prospective Girl Scouts bit by bit. The group also had momentum from a source not available to most organizations. "When corporations and businesses have an emphasis on inclusion, for them it may be a bottom line issue," explains Chávez. "For us, it's what makes our movement strong—and it's the girls who have that focus."

Girls' acceptance of the basics of inclusion—that projects and the communities around them are strengthened when diverse groups are brought together—is strikingly apparent in their Gold Award projects, the highest achievement in Girl Scouting.

One Gold Award project was undertaken by Megan K.C. Johnson in Seattle, a community that had a large homeless population. Megan decided to provide hats, socks and blankets for the homeless. To accomplish this, she partnered with local prisoners to help her knit the articles of clothing, creating an instructional video for the inmates to follow. And she built ties to the homeless, through Shriners Hospital. "The girls understand that regardless of what your perspective is," says Chávez, "you can bring in others to strengthen your outcome."

Such insights allow girls to aim higher in every way. "At AT&T, we're proud of the Girl Scouts' outstanding accomplishments and relentless commitment to the future generation of female leaders," says Cathy Coughlin, AT&T's global marketing officer, a board member of GSUSA and a Girl Scout.

#### Creating Greater Connections

Throughout its 101-year history, GSUSA has learned that celebrating and honoring the distinctive elements of diverse races, religions and backgrounds creates greater connections within a group. That has been Geico's experience with diversity as well. A 76-year-old company that originated in Washington, D.C., Geico boasts that some

10,000 "corporate community citizens," more than a third of the company's employees, engage in volunteer activities.

"Our employees come to us and say we ought to do this and we say, 'Lead the way,'" says Rynthia Rost, vice president of public affairs at Geico. The company partnered with the Girl Scout Council of the Nation's Capital several years ago to support their mission to build courage, confidence and character in girls. "It was a natural fit. Like them, we celebrate diverse cultures including African American, Caribbean, Hispanic, Asian, Pacific Islander, Indian and more. The enthusiasm to share cultural heritage and practices bubbles up from our associates."

There is also a powerful business argument for having people with the greatest variety of backgrounds possible among your employees. Coughlin puts it this way: "AT&T is an inclusive brand with more than 100 million customers. We're committed to developing a diverse employee base. Not only is it the right thing to do, it just makes good business sense. Our diverse employee base is a driving force that enables AT&T to bring richer ideas and solutions to the marketplace."

But diversity at all employee levels doesn't just happen because you want it to. AT&T pays special attention to employees with potential, identifying women and people of color with leadership ability at the entry and mid-career level. Then it funnels those individuals into highly structured programs, which involve a defined series of rotations through functional areas, assigned mentors and extra training. "When a high-level position opens up, you can't look around and ask 'where are the qualified people?'" explains Coughlin. "The key is to develop a pipeline of leaders."

The opposite of inclusion, of course, is exclusion. Yet even when exclusion is overcome and organizations include diverse people within their ranks, more subtle biases can persist, leading many minorities to continue to feel unwelcome and less valued. GSUSA has for the most part been able to sidestep such problems, thanks to the deep imprint left by founder Low's finely tuned sensitivity.

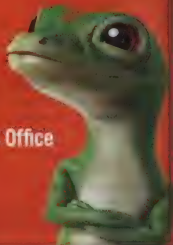
Small wonder that today's GSUSA is a modern marvel of inclusion at work that helps girls realize that together, regardless of their background, they can be anything they want to be. ●

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## Do These Glasses Make Me Look Boring?

In which I try to top Google Glass as a lunch companion



TECHNOLOGY IMPROVES our lives but ruins those of everyone who hangs out with

us. I spend nearly as much of my life waiting for people I'm with to answer a call, text back or finish a tweet as they do waiting for me.

I've already intuited that owning Google Glass—the eyeglass frames with a computer attached—will radically transform my life into a virtual reality exactly like moving my cell phone five inches closer to my face. What I need to know is what it's like to interact with someone who's wearing Google Glass.

I invited Heather Anne Campbell to have lunch with me and wear her Google Glass the whole time. Heather, a comedian who appears on the new *Whose Line Is It Anyway?*, is one of about 8,000 people Google chose via Twitter and Google+ to buy the \$1,500 device before it's made available to the public. Heather said she'd wear Glass during an improv show. The bar for dogooding gets pretty low when you make someone pay \$1,500.

**I did not think our lunch** would go well, since I'm one of the few people who believe setting your phone to ring instead of vibrate should be limited to "surgeon on call" mode. To me, putting your phone on the table indicates that you don't think I can tell a story as well as someone without a face or body. It's like pointing a real-life remote control and yelling, "Entertain me, loser,

or I'll change the channel!" No one else seems to mind any of this stuff, yet they already call some people wearing Heather's new technology Glassholes.

When Heather arrived, I noticed that while she is very attractive, she looks even better wearing her white Google Glass. I don't know if it's the design, the power Glass denotes or the fact that if a woman will put a computer on her face, God only knows what else she'll do.



Shortly after sitting down, Heather told me that she would never actually wear these glasses to a lunch. "It's a social threat," she explained, since by moving her head or saying a command, she could make the glasses shoot video or, worse, look me up on Wikipedia, which would definitely end lunch early. Besides, you can't be nearly as surreptitious with Glass as I assumed: I could detect when the tiny rectangular screen over her left eye was on, so I'd know immediately if she wasn't really paying attention.

No one over 65 can complain about people wearing Google Glass since they all leave Fox News on when you come over.

The only disruptive part of the experience was that everyone came by our table and treated Heather like a celebrity because she was wearing Google Glass, except our waiter, who treated her like a celebrity because she's a celebrity. But after a while, I stopped noticing her Glass

initial fears were no more than simple social insecurity. I'm sure that after Gutenberg cranked out his 180 beta versions of the printed Bible, people in Germany were worried that if they didn't deliver some interesting gossip, their rich friend who knew people up in Mainz was going to break out Deuteronomy. If anything, Heather and I decided, Google Glass might lead people to have fewer mediated experiences. Unlike fans watching concerts through an iPhone they hold aloft, parents seeing a child's first step through a lens or C-list celebs focusing less on their sex partners than on finding a flattering angle to film from, Glass wearers can record events and still see them too.

**Right about then is when my** totally outdated phone vibrated in my pocket. Worried it was my wife calling about my son or something even more pressing, like a celebrity more famous than Heather, I pulled it out to check. Heather, meanwhile, gave me her undivided attention. Before I could finish chastising myself and apologizing, my phone rang a second time. I checked again.

It's not the technology that makes the Glasshole; it's the person using the technology. There's a chance that by making the first Glass wearers submit plans on how they'd use them, they'll set a better example than the 1980s Wall Street jerks who yelled into the first cell phones at restaurants. Maybe, in fact, Google will be responsible enough to never sell me one.

and focused on the endless amount of tech stuff Heather, who used to be an editor for a video game magazine, told me I needed to buy, such as Google Chromecast and wireless speakers. Later, when I started talking a lot about my career, I asked Heather if she was tempted to secretly nod her phone to life and surf the Web. "I wouldn't," she said. "I'd do it on my phone. This is not a rich enough experience." Convinced, I went right back to talking about me.

I was discovering that my





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# 10 Questions



Nutella-inspired Plumpy'Nut is a peanut-based paste that treats acute malnutrition

## Head of the World Food Programme **Ertharin Cousin** on feeding millions, food security and foul-tasting cookies

**The U.N. World Food Programme (WFP) will spend about \$4 billion this year. How many people can you feed for that?**

More than 95 million. Some of them are refugees, but they are all what we describe as the hungry poor, the most vulnerable.

**And what does the U.S. get for the \$1.4 billion it provides?**

The U.S. gets food security around the world. As the President of Niger said, Food security is security. You can't talk about creating a secure world when mothers can't feed their children, when fathers have no access to the financial resources that are necessary to feed their families.

**Is there going to come a time when the planet can't produce enough food for everyone?**

No. There are some who disagree with me because of population growth. But humans are very innovative, and we have the ability to increase the yield of small farmers in places where food didn't grow 50 years ago. We can feed the entire population, but it's going to require sustained investments.

**So why are people still going hungry? It can't be that there's not the public will.**

The global community tends to invest during times of crisis and emergency. We saw it in Haiti. What we need is a recognition that in order

to change things, we need to give people the ability to feed themselves. But the media don't cover these kinds of stories. They don't cover the opportunity—they cover the crisis.

**How much of the problem is a lack of trust?**

Three years ago, a U.N. report said that the food aid from the WFP wasn't getting to the hungry. I am not so naive as to suggest that you don't have crime and diversion of food. But it's such a small percentage—it's less than 1% of what we deliver.

**Are there any new advances you're excited about?**

Drip irrigation, which ensures that farmers who don't have access to water or mechanized irrigation systems can use very simple tools to grow fields in places where there's no food. And RUSF [ready-to-use supplementary food], a paste we give to children in addition to breast milk. Studies show that a lack of micro-nutrients from conception until the age of 2 means a child will likely be stunted both physically and mentally in irreparable ways.

**What keeps you awake at night?**

The growing cost of Syria



and the potential detrimental impact that has on everything else we do in the world. Right now we're projecting that we'll feed 4 million people inside Syria by December and 2.8 million people outside Syria in five neighboring countries by year-end.

**As a kid, you were bused from the west side of Chicago to a white school. Are you a busing success story?**

I am a success story, but I laugh because I have a sister who is younger and didn't get bused, and she's a managing director for IBM in Paris.

**You were in the Clinton Administration, and Hillary was an early champion. How did you vote in the 2008 primaries?**

I supported Barack Obama. Barack was my neighbor before he was my state senator. [Obama senior adviser] Valerie Jarrett lived in 9A. I lived in 9B. These are relationships that are very long. The Clintons understood that.

**I have a colleague who lived on WFP cookies for five days in Haiti. He said they taste nasty. Can you get on that?**

We try to provide food that the community is accustomed to eating. But when you go in an emergency, Day One you're providing what's available. Taste is secondary. So apologize to him, and let him know it's something we're working on. —BELINDA LUSCOMBE

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